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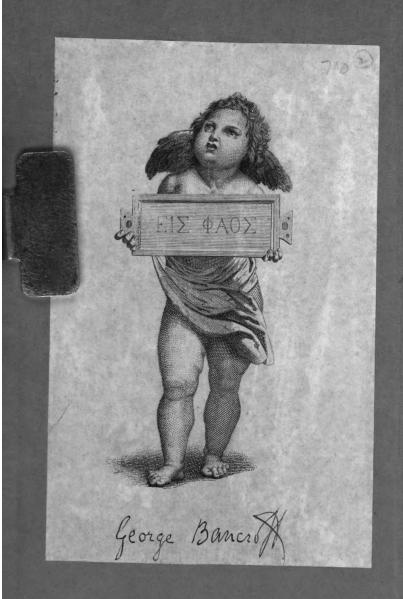
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OF THE

HISTORY

OF

CALIFORNIA,

FROM THE

DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY TO THE YEAR 1849,

BY

EDMUND RANDOLPH, ESQ.

SAN FRANCISCO:
A. ROMAN, 127 MONTGOMERY STREET,
1860.

A YEARBILES

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ADDRESS

ON THE

HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA,

FROM THE

DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY TO THE YEAR 1849,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

Society of California Pioneers,

AT THEIR CELEBRATION OF THE

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADMISSION

OF THE

State, of California into the Union,

By EDMUND RANDOLPH, ESQ.

San Grancisco, September 10th, 18b0.

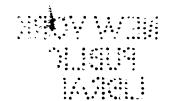
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Cnecked May 1913

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION.

THE PROCESSION.

On yesterday the Society of California Pioneers celebrated the Tenth Anniversary of the organization of their Association with more than usual zest and enthusiasm. At 12 M., the members assembled at the Pioneer Rooms, where they were joined shortly thereafter by their invited guests. Here they donned their regalia, the earlier Pioneers wearing red, and the '49 members white satin scarfs, with appropriate decorations.

At a quarter to one o'clock, the military escort having arrived, the procession formed under the direction of W. R. Wheaton, Esq., acting as Marshal of the day, in the following order.

First-American Brass Band.

Second—Pioneer California Guard, Lieutenant Frank Wheeler, commanding. Third—National Guard, Captain Pollock.

Fourth—Carriage containing John C. Fremont and Gen. Mariano G. Vallejo.

Fifth—Carriage containing Edmund Randolph, Orator, E. R. Campbell, Poet, and Rev. Albert Williams, Chaplain of the Day.

Sixth—Pioneers of an earlier date than 1849, preceded by the Officers of the Society.

Seventh-Pioneers of 1849.

The procession passed through Kearny to Clay, through Clay to Montgomery, through Montgomery to the New Music Hall, corner of Bush, where the Pioneers passed in review before the military, and received the marching salute.

PROCEEDINGS AT MUSIC HALL.

On entering the spacious edifice, the galleries were seen crowded with ladies, and a large portion of the main floor with male spectators. The officers marched upon the rostrum with their invited guests. In the center was seated Philip A. Roach, President of the Society; on his right Col. John C. Fremont, and on his left Gen. Vallejo occupied chairs, and on one or the other side of them the Orator, Poet, Chaplain, and on the extreme right of the stage the Band. Immediately in front of the rostrum and on the right of the main aisle, the elder, and on the left, the later Pioneers were seated. The scene at this moment was an imposing and impressive one—imposing from the martial appearance of the citizen soldiery, together with the glittering regalia of the

Pioneers and the brilliant character of the audience; and thrillingly impressive from the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, and the presence of so many actors in the earlier events which gave to California her name and future fame.

After an inspiriting air by the band, the Chaplain came forward and offered an exceedingly eloquent and appropriate prayer. The President then presented Edmund Randolph, the Orator of the Day, who was greeted, on his appearance, with tumultuous applause. Before entering upon the main theme of his discourse, the orator paid a glowing and deeply affecting tribute to the memory of Pioneers now numbered with the dead, spoke of the manner of their demise, and of the fact that the bones of many of them had been disturbed by the onward and resdess spirit of progress; that their remains now lie in places unknown, and unmarked with even the simple cross or headboard which friendly hands did first place above their graves.

The orator then proceeded to give a minute and elaborate history of California, from its earliest discovery, and tracing it down to the present. A vast amount of information, of an invaluable character, was embodied in this production, which must be regarded as the most complete and authentic history of California extant. The orator spoke for three hours, and at the conclusion of his masterly address, was overwhelmed with the plaudits of the admiring audience. His allusions to Col. Fremont and Generals Sutter and Vallejo, also elicited tremendous applause.

The Band then played again, after which E. R. Campbell, Esq., delivered in a clear and impressive manner, a Poem composed by him for the occasion, and which was received with flattering demonstrations of approval.

More music followed; the Chaplain pronounced the benediction, and the audience dispersed. The military escorted the Pioneers to their Rooms, the procession, on its return, passing through California to Sansome, to Clay, through Montgomery to Washington, and up Washington to the Hall.

The streets all along the route were crowded with side-walk gazers, and the open windows and balconies filled with representatives of the fair sex. The procession having disbanded, the military were invited into the hall to partake of refreshments. Subsequently, the members also disposed of a substantial collation, and retired to prepare for the

BALL.

This took place in New Music Hall, and although high anticipations of a magnificent festival had been entertained by both Pioneers and their lady guests, we venture to say that the affair far surpassed their expectations. The music, dances, supper, and above all, the admirable manner in which the most minute arrangements were carried out, called forth rapturous encomiums from all present. This superb social entertainment was a fitting finale to the intellectual feast of the day. And so ends the Tenth Anniversary of an Association honorable in itself, and justly entitled to the respect and sympathy of all who appreciate the enterprise, privations and perseverance, of those who bear the proud name of California Pioneers.

ADDRESS.

PIONEERS:

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From the importunities of the active Present which surrounds us, we turn for a brief space to the Past. To-day we give ourselves up to memory.

And first, our thoughts are due to those who are not here assembled with us; whom we meet not on street nor highway, and welcome not again at the door of our dwellings; upon whom shines no more the sun which now gladdens the hills, the plains, the waters of California: to the Pioneers who are To them, as the laurel to the soldier who falls in the battle for that with his blood he has paid the price of victory. vou will award the honor of this triumph, marked by the marvellous creations which have sprung from your common enter-To them, you will consecrate a success which has surpassed the boldest of the imaginations which led you forth, both them and you, to a life of adventures. Your companions died that California might exist. Fear not that you will honor them But how died they, and where do they reposeovermuch. the dead of the Pioneers of California?

Old men amongst you will recall the rugged trapper; his frame was strong; his soul courageous; his knowledge was of the Indian's trail and haunts of game; his wealth and his defence, a rifle and a horse; his bed the earth; his home the mountains. He was slain by the treacherous savage. His scalp adorned the wigwam of a chief. The wolf and the vulture in the desert feasted on the body of this Pioneer. A companion, wounded, unarmed and famishing, wanders out through some rocky canon and lives to recount this tale—lives, more fortunate in his declining years, to measure, perhaps, his lands by the

league and to number his cattle by the thousand. And the sea too, has claimed tribute; the remorseless waves, amid the terrors of shipwreck, too often in these latter days have closed over the manly form of the noble Pioneer. The monsters of the deep have parted amongst them the flesh of our friends, and their dissevered members are floating, suspended now in the vast abysses of the ocean, or roll upon distant strands-playthings tossed by the currents in their wanderings. And here in San Francisco, exacting commerce has disturbed the last resting place of the Pioneers. Ten years and a half ago, pinched by the severities of a most inclement winter, under the leaky tent which gave no shelter, they sickened and died-and then women and children were Pioneers too-by scores and by hundreds they sickened and died. With friendly hands, which under such disastrous circumstances could minister no relief, you yet did bury them piously in a secluded spot upon the hill-side or in the valley, and planting a rude cross or board to mark the grave, did hope, perhaps, in a more prosperous day, to replace it with a token in enduring stone. But the hill and the valley alike, disappear hourly from our sight. The City marches with tremendous strides. Extending streets and lengthening rows encroach upon the simple burial ground not wisely chosen. The dead give place to the living. And now the builder with his mortar and his bricks, and the din of his trowel, erects a mansion or store-house for the new citizen. upon the same spot where the Pioneer was laid and his sorrowing friend dreamed of erecting a tombstone. Meanwhile, by virtue of a municipal order, hirelings have dug up and carted away all that remained of the Pioneers, and have deposited them in some common receptacle, where now they are lying an undistinguishable heap of human bones.

Pursuing still this sad review, you well remember how with the eagertide along and up the course of rivers, and over many a stony ascent, you were swept into the heart of the difficult regions of the gold mines; how you there encountered an equal stream pouring in from the East, and in a summer all the bars, and flats, and gulches, throughout the length and breadth of that vast tract of hills, were flooded with human life. Into that rich harvest Death quickly put his sickle. Toil to those who had never toiled, toil, the hardest toil, often at once beneath a torrid, blazing sun, and in an icy stream; congestion, typhus, fevers in whatever form most fatal; and the rot of scurvy; drunkenness and violence, despair, suicide and madness; the desolate cabin; houseless starvation amid snows; all these bring back again upon you in a frightful picture, many a death scene of those days. There fell the Pioneers who perished from the van of those who first heaved back the bolts that barred the vaulted hills, and poured the millions of the treasures of California upon the World!

Wan and emaciated from the door of the tent or cabin where you saw him expire; bloody and mangled from the gambling saloon where you saw him murdered, or the roadside where you found him lying; the corpse you bore to the woods and buried him beneath the trees. But you cannot tell to-day which pine sings the requiem of the Pioneer.

And some have fallen in battle beneath our Country's flag. And longings still unsatisfied led some to renew their adventurous career upon foreign soils. Combatting for strangers whose quarrels they espoused, they fell amid the jungles of the Tropics and fatted that rank soil there with right precious blood. Or upon the sands of an accursed waste, were bound and slaughtered by inhuman men who lured them with promises and repaid their coming with a most cruel assasination. In the filthy purlieus of a Mexican village swine fed upon all that murder left of honored gentlemen; until the very Indian, with a touch of pity, heaped up the sand upon the festering dead, and gave slight sepulture to our lost Pioneers.

Though from the first some there were who found in California all they sought, and as they lived so died surrounded by their children and their new made friends, and were buried in church-yards with holy rites: and although those more lately stricken, repose in well fenced grounds, guarded by SOCIETY they planted, and whose ripening power they have witnessed; and are gathered to a sacred stillness, where we too may hope that we shall be received when full soon we sink to our eternal rest; alas! far different the death and burial of full many a Pioneer!

In deeds of loftiest daring of individual man, encounters fierce and rudest shocks, too often has parted the spirit of the Pioneer, and left his mortal body to nature and the elements! Thus wilds are conquered! and to civilization new realms are won!

Upon his life and death let them reflect who would deny to the Pioneer the full measure of the rights of freemen.

For us, we behold the river or the rock, the mountain's peak, the plain: whatever spot from which his eyes took their last look of earth. There as he lies, one gentle light shining athwart the gathering darkness, still holds his gaze. Guided by that light, we will re-visit the distant home of the dying Pioneer. In imagination we will there revive the faded recollections of the intrepid boy, who in years long past disappeared in the wilderness and the West, and for a life-time has been accounted dead. We will renew, whilst we console, the grief of the aged father and mother. To the fresh sorrows of the faithful wife we pledge the sympathy and love of brothers. To the sons and daughters of our friends we stretch forth our hands in benedictions on their heads. To ancient friends we too are friends: until with our praises, and the eventful story of his life, we make to live again in his old peaceful home, him who died so wildly. What though, to mournful questioning, we cannot point their graves? They have a monument, behold the State. And their inscription, it is written on our hearts.

Thus, as is meet, we honor our dead Pioneers; with severe yet pleasing recollections, grateful fancies, and tears not unmanly. With an effort—we turn from ourselves to our country.

Of populous christian countries, Upper California is among the newest. Her whole history is embraced within the life time of men now living. Just ninety-one years have passed since man of European origin first planted his footsteps within the limits of what is now our State, with purpose of permanent inhabitation. Hence all the inhabitants of California have been but Pioneers.

Cortez about the year 1537 fitted out several small vessels at his port of Tehauntepec, sailed north and to the head of the Gulf of California. It is said that his vessels were provided with everything requisite for planting a colony in the newly discovered region, and transported four-hundred Spaniards and three-hundred negro slaves which he had assembled for that purpose; and that he imagined by that coast and sea to discover another New Spain. But sands and rocks and sterile mountains—a parched and thorny waste—vanquished the Conqueror of Mexico. He was glad to escape with his life, and never crossed the line which marks our southern boundary. Here we may note a very remarkable event which happened in the same year that Cortez was making his fruitless attempt. Four persons, Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo, Dorantes, and a negro named Estevancio arrived at Culiacan on the Gulf of California from the peninsula of Florida. They were the sole survivors of three hundred Spaniards who landed with Pamfilo Narvaez on the coast of Florida for the conquest of that country in the year 1527. They had wandered ten years among the savages and had finally found their way across the continent. The same Nunez was afterwards appointed to conduct the discovery of the Rio de la Plata and the first conquests of Paraguay, says our authority, the learned Jesuit Father Miguel Venegas

The viceroy Mendoza, soon after the failure of Cortez, despatched another expedition, by sea and land, in the same direction, but accomplished still less—and again in 1542 the same viceroy sent out Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a courageous Portuguese, with two ships to survey the outward or western coast of California. In the latitude of 32 degrees he made a cape which was called, by himself I suppose, cape Engaño (Deceit); in 33 degrees that of la Cruz, and that of Galera in 36½, and opposite the last he met with two large islands where they informed him that at some distance there was a nation who wore clothes; in 37 degrees and a half he had sight of some hills covered with trees, which he called San Martin, as he did also the cape running into the sea at the end of these eminences. Beyond this to 40 degrees the coast lies N. E., and S. W., and

about the 40th degree he saw two mountains covered with now, and betwixt them a large cape which in honor of the vice-roy he called Mendocino. This headland, therefore according to Venegas was christened 318 years ago. Cabrillo continued his voyage to the north in mid-winter and reached the 44th degree of latitude on the 10th of March 1543. From this point he was compelled by want of provisions and the bad condition of his ships to return, and on the 14th of April he entered the harbor of Natividad from which he had sailed.

In 1578, at mid-summer, Sir Francis Drake landed upon this coast only a few miles northward from this Bay of San Francisco, at a bay which still bears his name. Sir Walter Raleigh had not yet sailed on his first voyage to Virginia. It will be interesting to know how things looked in this country at that time. After telling us how the natives mistook them for Gods and worshipped them and offered sacrifices to them much against their will, and how he took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, the narrative goes on: "Our neces-"saire business being ended, our General with his companie trav-"ailed up into the countrey to their villiages, where we found "heardes of deere by 1000 in a companie being most large and "fat of bodie. We found the whole countrey to be a warren "of a strange kinde of connies, their bodies in bigness as be "the Barbarie connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the "feet of a Want (mole) and the taile of a rat, being of great "length; under her chinne on either side a bagge, into the "which she gathered her meate, when she hath filled her bellie "abroad. The people do eat their bodies and make great ac-"compt of their skinnes, for their King's coat was made out of "them. Our General called this countrey Nova Albion, and "that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes "and cliffes which lie toward the sea; and the other because "it might have some affinitie with our country in name, which "sometime was so called."

"There is no part of earth here to be taken up, wherein there is "not a reasonable quantitie of gold or silver."

Every one will at once recognize the burrowing squirrel that still survives to plague the farmer, and who it will be

seen is a very ancient inhabitant of the fields he molests: and no one but will dwell upon the words in which he speaks of the gold and silver abounding in this country. Were they but a happy guess in a gold-mad age, a miracle of sagacity, or a veritable prophecy? Before he sailed away: "our General" set up a monument of our being there, as also of her Majestie's "right and title to the same, viz: a plate nailed upon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingraven her Majestie's name, the "day and yeare of our arrival there, with the free giving up of the province and people into her Majestie's hands, together with her highness' picture and arms, in a piece of five pence of current "English money under the plate whereunder was also written the "name of our General."

These mementoes of his visit and the first recorded landing of the white man upon our shores, I think have never fallen into the possession of any antiquary. And it would also appear that Sir Francis Drake knew nothing of Cabrillo's voyage, for he says: "It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had "never been in this part of the country, neither did discover "the lande by many degrees to the southward of this place."

There were other expeditions to Lower California and the Western Coast, after the time of Cortez and Cabrillo, but they all proved fruitless until the Count de Monterey, Viceroy of New Spain, by order of the King sent out Sebastian Viscavno. He sailed from Acapulco on the 5th day of May 1602 with two large vessels and a tender, as Captain-general of the voyage, with Toribio Gomez a consummate seaman who had served many years in cruising his Majesty's ships, as Admiral; and three bare footed Carmelites, Father Andrew de la Assumpcion, Father Antonio de la Ascension and Father Tomas de Aguino, also accompanied him. And that Viscavno might not lack for counsellors the Viceroy appointed Captain Alonzo Estevan Peguero, a person of great valor and long experience who had served in Flanders; and Captain Gaspar de Alorcon, a native of Bretagne, distinguished for his prudence and courage; and for sea affairs, he appointed pilots and masters of ships; likewise Capt. Geronimo Martin who went as cosmographer, in order to make draughts of the countries

discovered, for the greater perspicuity of the account intended to be transmitted to his Majesty of the discoveries and transactions on this voyage. The ships were further supplied with a suitable number of soldiers and seamen, and well provided with all necessaries for a year. This expedition was therefore, in every respect, a notable one for the age. Its object the King of Spain himself informs us, was to find a port where the ships coming from the Philipine islands to Acapulco, a trade which had then been established some thirty years, might put in and provide themselves with water, wood, masts and other things of absolute necessity. The galleons from Manila had all this time been running down this coast before the northwest wind, and were even accustomed, as some say, to make the land as far to the north as cape Mendocino which Cabrillo had named. Sebastian Vizcayno with his fleet struggled up with immense difficulty against the same north-west wind. On the 10th of November 1602 he entered San Diego and found on its north-west side a forest of oaks and other trees, of considerable extent, of which I do not know that there are any traces now or even a tradition. In lower California he landed frequently and made an accurate survey of the coast, and to one bay gave the capricious appellation of the Bay of eleven thousand Virgins. Above San Diego he kept further from the shore, noting the most conspicuous land marks. But he came through the canal of Santa Barbara, which I suppose he so named, and when at anchor under one of the islands, was visited by the King of that country who came with a fleet of boats and earnestly pressed him to land, offering as proof of his hospitable intentions to furnish every one of his seamen with ten Finally he anchored in the bay of Monterey on the 16th of December 1602—this was more than four years before the English landed at Jamestown. The name of Monterey was given to this port in honor of the Viceroy. On the 17th day of December 1602, a church—tent or arbor—was erected under a large oak close to the seaside, and Fathers Andrew de la Assumpcion and Antonio de la Ascension said Mass, and so continued to do whilst the expedition remained there. Yet this was not the first Christian worship on these shores, for

Drake had worshipped according to a Protestant ritual at the place where he landed 25 years before. The port of Monterey as it appeared to those weary voyagers, and they were in a miserable plight from the affliction of scurvy, seems to have been very pleasing. It is described in the narrative of Father Andrew, as an excellent harbor, and secure against all winds. " Near the shore are an infinite number of very large pines, " straight and smooth, fit for masts and yards, likewise oaks of " a prodigious size for building ships. Here likewise are rose " trees, white thorns, firs, willows, and poplars; large clear " lakes, fine pastures and arable lands," &c. &c. A traveler of this day, perhaps might not color the picture so highly. Vizcayno sent back one of his ships with the news, and with the sick, and with the other left Monterev on the 3d of January 1603, and it was never visited more for a hundred and sixtysix years. On the 12th having a fair wind we are told that he passed the port of San Francisco, and that losing sight of his other vessel he returned to the port of San Francisco to wait for her. Father Andrew de la Assumpcion (as reported in Father Venegas) on this interesting point uses the following language: "Another reason which induced the Capitania " (flag ship) to put into puerto Francisco was to take a survey " of it and see if anything was to be found of the San Augustin " which in the year 1595, had by order of his Majesty and the "Viceroy, been sent from the Philippines to survey the coast " of California under the direction of Sebastian Rodriguez " Cermenon a pilot of known abilities; but was driven ashore " in this harbor by the violence of the wind. And among "others on board the San Augustin, was the pilot Francisco "Volanos, who was also chief pilot of this squadron. He was " acquainted with the country and affirmed that they had left "ashore a great quantity of wax and several chests of silk; "and the General was desirous of putting in here to see if "there remained any vestiges of the ship and cargo. " Capitainia came to anchor behind a point of land called La " Punta de los Reyes."

Did Vizcayno enter the Bay of San Francisco? I think it plain that he did not. Yet exceedingly curious and interest-

ing is it to reflect that he was but a little way outside the heads. and that the indentation of the coast which opens into the bay of San Francisco was known to him from the report of the pilots of the ships from the Philippines, and by the same name. In the narratives of the explorers the reader is often puzzled by finding that objects upon the shore are spoken of as already known, as for example in this vovage of Vizcayno the highlands a little south of Monterey are mentioned by the name of the Sierra de Santa Lucia, so named at some previous time: the explanation follows in the same sentence where they are said to be a usual land-mark for the China ships—ie: undoubtedly the galleons from the Philippines. Vizcayno could reach no farther north than cape Mendocino, in which neighborhood he found himself with only six men able to keep the deck; his other vessel penetrated as far as the 43d degree; and then both returned to Acapulco. In those days there was a fabulous story very prevalent of a channel somewhere to the north of us which connected the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and it seems that some foreigner, had actually presented to the King of Spain a history of a voyage he had made directly across from New Foundland to the Pacific ocean by the staits of Anian. The King is said to have had an eye to the discovery of this desirable canal at the same time that he was making provision for his trade from the Western Islands.

In 1697, the Jesuits with patient art and devoted zeal, accomplished that which had defied the energy of Cortez and baffled the efforts of the Spanish monarchy for generations afterwards. They possessed themselves of Lower California, and occupied the greater portion of that peninsula, repulsive as it was, with their missions. In 1742, Anson, the English Commodore, cruising off the Western Coast of Mexico, watched for the Spanish galleon which still plied an annual trip between Acapulco and Manila. This galleon was half man-of-war, half merchantman, was armed, manned and officered by the King, but sailed on account of various houses of the Jesuits in the Philippines, who owned her tonnage in shares of a certain number of bales each, and enjoyed the monopoly of this trade by royal grant. She exchanged dollars from the Mexican

mines for the productions of the east, and we read that at that day the manufacturers of Valencia and Cadiz in Spain, clamored for protection against the silks and cotton cloths of India and China thus imported—by this sluggish craft which crept lazily through the tropics, relied upon rain to replenish the water jars on deck, and was commonly weakened by scurvy and required about six months for the return voyage-into Acapulco, thence transported on mules to Vera Cruz, and thence again after another tedious voyage to Europe. Anson watched in vain; the prudent galleon thought it best to remain under the shelter of the guns of Acapulco, in the presence of so dangerous a neighbor. He sailed away to the west, stopped and refreshed his crew at a romantic island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, went over to Macao and there refitted, and then captured the galleon at last, with a million and a half of dollars on board, as she was going into Manila, after a desperate combat with his ship, the Centurion. He then returned to China, extinguished a great fire in Canton with his crew, sold the galleon in Macao, and got back safe to England with his treasure. His chaplain, Mr. Richard Walter, the author of the admiraole narrative of this celebrated voyage, goes on after relating the capture, to say: "I shall only add, that " there were taken on board the galleon, several draughts and * * * Among the rest there was found a chart " of all the Ocean, between the Philippines and the Coast of "Mexico, which was that made use of by the galleon in her own " navigation. A copy of this draught, corrected in some " places by our own observations, is here annexed, together " with the route of the galleon traced thereon from her own "journals, and likewise the route of the Centurion from Aca-" pulco through the same Ocean."

Here we may look for information. We have at least one log-book and chart of the old Manila galleons. What if we could have access to the books of account of those venerable old traders in their monasteries at Manila! Examining this chart we find that the coast of California from a little further north than Punta de los Reyes, is laid down with remarkable accuracy. We have a great indentation of the Coast immed-

iately below Punta de los Reyes, a large land-locked bay with a narrow entrance, immediately off which lie seven little black spots called Los Farallones-in short, a Bay at San Francisco, but without a name. The Farallones, I think were named by Cabrillo in 1542, two hundred years before Anson's time. Was this our Port of San Francisco as we know it, or that which Vizcayno entered when he anchored on the 12th of Jan., 1603, under a point of land called La Punta de los Reves? Lower down we have Point Año Nuevo and Point Pinos, and a bay between, but not the name of Monterey, then a great many islands, then Point Conception, then San Pedro and then the Port of San Diego, and Lower California to Cape San Lucas. The outward track of the galleon lies between 12 and 15 degrees North, and on her return she goes up as high as about 35 degrees, and there being off Point Conception, but a long way out to sea, she turns to the south and runs down the Coast to Cape San Lucas, where the Jesuit Fathers kept signal fires burning on the mountains to guide her into Port, and expected her return with the fruits and fresh provisions which the exhausted mariners so much Such was the strange precursor of the steamneeded. ship and clipper on the waters of the Pacific, and the first great carrier of the commerce between its opposite shores! You will observe how nature brings this commerce to our doors. The outward run of the galleon so near the Equator was to take the Eastern trade winds, which wafted her without the necessity of changing a sail directly to the Philippines; - China and the Indies—and her returning course was to avoid these trade winds and to catch the breezes which to the North blow from the West. And this great circle of the winds touches our shores at the Bay of San Francisco. This Chart was drawn for the use of the Spanish Generals, (for such was the title and rank of the commanders of the Spanish galleons) and "con-" tained all the discoveries which the Manila ships have at " any time made in traversing this vast Ocean."

It was these discoveries that gave names to so many points upon our Coast undoubtedly, and prompted so many explorers, after Cabrillo, and both before and after Vizcayno. Knowing

so much, the wonder is that these navigators did not know more. They named, and noted on their chart, yet did not know our Bay of San Francisco. Yearly for centuries they coasted by. A priest or soldier standing upon the deck of this old-time ship, might gaze upon a glorious land that overhung the Western Sea: with hills on hills a swelling pile, glowing in sunsets that had gilded them through countless ages. save in the casual visits of the earliest navigators, we know not that foot of white man vet had pressed the soil of California. The world was busy in commerce and in war. But the breeze still ruffled the vacant waters, dimpled the idle grass, and fanned the sultry sides of the solitary mountains of California. These slopes and plains pastured but the deer and elk. A despicable type of man, in petty groups, wandered through these valleys, of which the bear was more the Lord than he. No other human tenant occupied the most delightful of the habitations of man, nor had from the Creation down.

The Spaniards were at best but feeble navigators; witness the galleons making a tedious progress in the latitudes of calms. Anson says that the instructions to their commanders, were in his day, to keep within the latitude of 30 degrees, if possible, as if they feared to encounter the stiffer breezes further northan instruction, however, not always followed as their chart demonstrates. To vessels such as then were built or to be found, in Mexican or South American ports, the daily winds from the north-west which in summer roughen the seas all along the coast to Cape San Lucas, were gales against which it was dangerous and almost hopeless to attempt to make head. This labor had not diminished from the days of Cabrillo and Vizcavno. These most beneficient north-west trade-winds cut off California from Spanish America by sea. By land, the desert tracts of the Gila and Upper California, both unexplored, barred the approach from the South. And to the East, the human imagination had not yet traversed the interval from the Atlantic Ocean. In 1769, the history of mankind may be said to have begun upon this coast. In this wise it begun.

Charles the Fifth, on the 17th day of November, 1526, addressed these words to his Indies:

"The Kings our progenitors, from the discovery of the West "Indies, its islands and continents, commanded our captains, "officers, discoverers, colonizers, and all other persons, that "on arriving at those Provinces, they should by means of "interpreters cause to be made known to the Indians, that they "were sent to teach them good customs, to lead them from "vicious habits and the eating of human flesh, to instruct "them in our holy Catholic Faith, to preach to them salvation "and to attract them to our dominion."

The same spirit breathes through every part of the Laws of the Indies, as they were issued for successive centuries, which may be seen by reference to the code in which they are compiled.

The Ministers who executed these pious purposes of the King were mainly the soldiers of the cross. Christian Priests converted our savage ancestors in the forests of the north of Europe, and laid the foundations of the great Republic of European States, of which the cement is modern civilization. Christian Priests endeavored to repeat that grand achievement in America. A sublime contemplation! They interposed the cross and staid the descending sword and the still swifter destruction of private greed. Their powerful protector was the King of Spain, when both continents were almost entirely Spanish. Their dusky converts who acknowledged the dominion of Christ, were saved as subjects of the King; were admitted to civil rights, and mingled their blood with that of the descendants of the Visigoths. In the lineaments and complexion of the Spanish American, we still behold the native Indian whom the Church preserved. Exalted Charity!—at least in motive, and although the teacher could not forsee that the same lesson would not effect the same result in pupils so diverse. not their fault, that they did not raise the crouching Indian to the level of the conquering German.

In 1767, the Jesuits being banished from the Spanish dominions, Lower California was transferred to the charge of another celebrated order, the Franciscans. Into this field, when it had been wrested from the Society of Jesus, the Franciscans were led by one who was born in an Island of the Medi-

terranean, the son of humble laborers. From his infancy Father Junipero Serra was reared for the Church. He had already greatly distinguished himself in the conversion and civilization of heathen savages in other parts of Mexico; and afterwards had preached revivals of the faith in Christian places, illustrating, as we are told, the strength of his convictions and the fervor of his zeal by demonstrations which would startle us now coming from the pulpit—such as burning his flesh with the blaze of a candle, beating himself with a chain, and bruising his breast with a stone which he carried in his Further, this devout man was lame from an incurable sore on his leg, contracted soon after his landing in Mexico: but he usually traveled on foot none the less. You have before you the first great Pioneer of California! His energies were not destined to be wasted in the care of missions which others had founded. He entered immediately upon the Spiritual Conquest of the regions to the North. Josef de Galvez, then Visitor General, a very high officer, (representing the person of the King in the inspection of the working of every part of the Government of the Province to which he was sent.) and who afterwards held the still more exalted position of Minister General for all the Indies, arrived at this time in Lower California bringing a Royal order to dispatch an expedition by sea. to re-discover and people the Port of Monterey, or at least that of San Diego. Father Junipero entered with enthusiasm into his plans, and after consulting with him and learning the condition of the Missions and the latitude of the most northern. Galvez the better to fulfill the wishes of his Majesty, determined besides the expedition by sea, to send another which should go in search of San Diego by land, at which point the two expeditions should meet and make an establishment. further resolved to found three Missions, one at San Diego, one at Monterey, and another mid-way between these, at San Buena Ventura. A fleet consisting of two small vessels, at this time came over to Lower California from San Blas: the San Carlos and the San Antonio, otherwise the Principe. Of these the San Carlos was the Capitania or flag-ship. Galvez, a really great man, labored with great diligence and good nature to

get them ready for sea; with his own hands assisting the workmen, such as there were to be found in that remote corner of the world, in careening the vessels, and the Fathers in boxing up the ornaments, sacred vases, and other utensils of the Church and vestry, and boasting in a letter that he was a better sacristan than Father Junipero, because he had put up the ornaments &c. for his mission, as he called that of San Buena Ventura, before that servant of God had those for his of San Carlos, and had to go and help him. Also, that the new missions might be established in the same manner with those of Sierra Gorda, where Father Junipero had formerly labored, and with which he was much pleased, Galvez ordered to be boxed up and embarked all kinds of household and field utensils, with the necessary iron-work for cultivating the lands, and every species of seeds, as well those of Old as of New Spain, without forgetting the very least, such as garden-herbs, flowers and flax, the land being he said in his opinion fertile for everything, as it was in the same latitude with Spain. For the same purpose, he determined that from the furthest north of the old missions, the land expedition should carry two hundred head of cows. bulls. and oxen, to stock that new country with large cattle, in order to cultivate the whole of it, and that in proper time there should be no want of something to eat.

Father Junipero blessed the vessels and the flags, Galvez made an impressive harangue, the expedition embarked, and the San Carlos sailed from La Paz, in Lower California, on the 9th day of January, 1769. The whole enterprize was commended to the patronage of the Most Holy Patriarch St. Joseph. On the San Carlos sailed Don Vicente Villa, commander of the maritime expedition; Don Pedro Fages, a lieutenant commanding a company of 25 soldiers of the Catalonian Volunteers; the engineer, Don Miguel Constanzo; likewise Dr. Pedro Prat, a surgeon of the Royal Navy, and all the necessary crew and officers. With them for their consolation, went the Father Friar Fernando Parron. Galvez in a small vessel accompanied the San Carlos as far as Cape San Lucas, and saw her put to sea with a fair wind on the 11th day of January, 1769. The San Antonio, the other vessel, went to Cape San Lucas, and

Galvez set to work with the same energy and heartiness to get her ready. She sailed on the 15th day of February, 1769. The Captain of the San Antonio was Don Juan Perez, a native of Majorca, and a distinguished pilot of the Philippine trade. With him sailed two priests, Fathers Juan Vizcayno and Francisco Gomez. The Archives of this State contain a paper of these times which cannot but be read with interest. It is the copy of the receipt of the Commander, Vicente Villa, containing the list of all the persons on board the San Carlos, and an inventory of eight months' provisions. It reads thus:

OFFICERS AND CREW, SOLDIERS, &C. OF THE SAN CARLOS.

The two Army Officers, the Father Missionary, the Captain, Pilot,
and Surgeon
The Company of Soldiers, being the Surgeon, Corporal, and twen-
tv-three men
The Officers of the Ship and Crew, including two pages, (cabin
boys doubtless)
The Baker and two Blacksmiths 3
The Cook and two Tortilla makers 3 "
Total
Dried Meat187 arrobas (25 fbs) 6 libras
Fish 77 " 8 libras
Crackers, common
" white 47 " 7 "
Indian Corn
Rice37 arrobas 20 libras
Peas
Lard20 "
Vinegar 7 tinajas (jars)
Salt8 fanegas
Panocha, (domestic Sugar) 43 arrobas, 8 libras
Checse78 "
Brandy 5 tinajas
Wine6 "
Figs6 "
Raisins 3 "
Dates 2 "
Sugar5 arrobas
Chocolate77 "
Hams70 "
Oil, (table) 6 tinajas
Oil, (fish) 5 "
Red Pepper 12 libras
Black Pepper 7 "
Cinnamon 7 "
Garlic 5 "
25 Smoked Beef Tongues
6 Live Cattle
70 tierces of Flour, each of 25 arrobas, 20 libras
15 sacks of Bran

16 sacks of Charcoal

1 box of Tallow Candles of 41 arrobas

1 pair of 16 lb Scales

2 lbs of Lamp Wick

The original of this simple and homely document, but which enables us to realize so clearly these obscure transactions yet so full of interest for us, was given unquestionably to Galvez, and this copy we may presume brought to California on this first voyage of the San Carlos to serve as her manifest. It is dated the 5th January 1769. Of the same date we have the instructions of Galvez to Villa and Fages, addressed to each of them separately, that is, the original is given to Villa under the signature of Galvez and a copy to Fages. They are long and minute. The first article declares that the first object of the expedition is to establish the "Catholic Religion among a nu-" merous heathen people submerged in the obscure darkness of " paganism-to extend the dominion of the King our Lord "and to protect this peninsula from the ambitious views of "foreign nations." He also recites that this project had been entertained since 1606 when it was ordered to be executed by Philip III—referring to orders which were issued by that monarch in consequence of the report made by Vizcayno, but which were never carried into effect. He enjoins that no labor or fatigue be spared now for the accomplishment of such just and holy San Diego he says, will be found in latitude 33 degrees, as set forth in the Royal cedula of 1606—(one hundred and sixty-three years before,)-and that it cannot fail to be recognized from the land-marks mentioned by Vizcayno. At the conclusion in his own hand-writing we have the following:

[&]quot;Note: That to the Fort or Presidio that may be constructed "and to the Pueblo (village) of the Mission which may be es"tablished at Monterey, there shall be given the glorious "name of San Carlos de Monterey.—Joseph De Galvez.—
"(with his rubric)"

When the San Antonio sailed she seems to have carried a letter from Galvez to Pedro Fages who had gone in advance on the San Carlos, for we have it now in the archives. It is dated cape San Lucas, Feb. 14, 1769. The body of the letter is in substance: That the San Antonio arrived at the bay (San Lucas) on the twenty fifth of last month (January); that she was discharged and cleared of barnacles; that he examined the vessel with his own eyes, and found the keel thereof as sound as when it was placed in the vessel; that the necessary repairs had been made, and her cargo again placed on board, and that to-morrow, if the weather permit, she will sail, and that he trusts in Providence she will come safely into Monterey and find him (Fages) already in possession of the country.

So far it is in the hand-writing of a clerk. He then adds a postscript with his own hand, addressed as well to Father Parron and the Engineer Constanzo as to Fages. I read it for it is pleasant to have, as it were, a personal acquaintance with the eminent personage who directed the foundation of Upper California; and to find him a gentleman of such manifest abilities, generous temper and enthusiasm.

"MY FRIENDS:—It appears that the Lord, to my confusion, desires infinitely to reward the only virtue I possess, which is my constant faith, for everything here goes on prosperously, even to the mines abounding in metals. Many people are collecting with abundance of provisions.

I hope you will sing the Te Deum in Monterey, and in order that we may repeat it here, you will not withhold the notice of the same an instant longer than is necessary.

This is also for the Reverend Father Parron.

Josef de Galvez. (Rubrica)"

Just as active was he in getting off the land expedition. The chief command was given to Don Gaspar de Portalá, Captain of Dragoons, and then Governor of Lower California—the second rank to Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, Captain of a company of foot soldiers who carried leathern bucklers. And in imitation of Jacob, Galvez, in view of the dangers of the route through savages and an unknown country, divided the force into two parts—to save one if the other was lost.

Rivera was to lead the first and the Governor to follow after. Rivera sets out towards the north as early as September, 1768. collecting mules and muleteers, horses, dried meat, grain, flour. biscuits, etc., among the Missions; encamps on the verge of the unexplored regions, and sends word to the Visitor General that he will be ready to start for San Diego in all of March. Father Juan Crespi there joins him, and on the 24th day of March, which was Good-Friday, he begins the journey. This party consisted of the Captain Rivera, Father Crespi, a Pilot who went to keep a diary, twenty-five foot soldiers with leathern bucklers, three muleteers, and a band of Christian Indians of Lower California, to serve as pioneers, assistants to the muleteers, and for anything else that might be necessary, and who carried bows and arrows. They spent fifty-two days in the journey, and on the 14th day of May arrived, without accident, at San Diego. Father Junipero Serra, President of the Missions of Lower California, and of those that were to be founded, marched with Portalá. The season of Lent, the dispositions to be made for the regulation of the Missions during his absence, and the preparations for the expedition in its spiritual part, detained him, so that it was May before he joined Portalá at the same encampment from which Rivera had set The Reverend Father President came up in very bad condition. He was traveling with an escort of two soldiers, and hardly able to get on or off his mule. His foot and leg were greatly inflamed, and the more that he always wore sandals, and never used boots, shoes, or stockings. His priests and the Governor tried to dissuade him from the undertaking, but he said he would rather die on the road, yet he had faith that the Lord would carry him safely through. A letter was even sent to Galvez, but he was a kindred spirit, and agreed with Father Junipero, who, however, was far into the wilderness before the answer was received. On the second day out, his pain was so great that he could neither sit nor stand, nor sleep, and Portalá, being still unable to induce him to return, gave orders for a litter to be made. Hearing this, Father Junipero was greatly distressed on the score of the Indians, who would have to carry him. He prayed fervently, and then a happy thought occurred

to him. He called one of the muleteers and addressed him, so runs the story, in these words: "Son, don't you know some "remedy for the sore on my foot and leg? But the muleteer answered: "Father, what remedy can I know? Am I a sur-" geon? I am a muleteer, and have only cured the sore backs " of beasts." "Then consider me a beast." said the Father. "and this sore which has produced this swelling of my legs, "and the grievous pains I am suffering, and that neither let " me stand nor sleep, to be a sore back, and give me the same "treatment you would apply to a beast." The muleteer. smiling, as did all the rest who heard him, answered, "I will Father, to please you;" and taking a small piece of tallow, mashed it between two stones, mixing with it herbs, which he found growing close by, and having heated it over the fire, anointed the foot and leg, leaving a plaster of it on the sore. God wrought in such a manner—for so wrote father Junipero himself from San Diego-that he slept all that night until daybreak, and awoke so much relieved from his pains that he got up and said Matins and Prime, and afterwards Mass, as if he had never suffered such an accident; and to the astonishment of the Governor and the troop at seeing the Father in such health and spirits for the journey, which was not delaved a moment on his account. Such a man was Father Junipero Serra, and so he journeyed when he went to conquer California. On the first of July, 1769, they reached San Diego, all well, in forty-six days after leaving the frontier. When they came in sight of the port the troops began firing for joy; those already there replied in the same manner; the vessels at anchor joined in the salute, and so they kept up the firing, until all having arrived they fell to embracing one another, and to mutual congratulations at finding all the expeditions united, and already at their longed for destination. Here, then, we have the officers and priests, soldiers and sailors, and laborers, mules, oxen and cows. seeds, tools, implements of husbandry, and vases, ornaments, and utensils for the Church. gotten together to begin the work of settlement, conversion, and civilization on the soil of California. The first day of July, ninety-one years ago, is the first day of California. The

year 1769 is our era. The obscure events that I have noticed, must yet by us be classed among its greatest occurrences, although it saw the birth of Napoleon and Wellington.

The number of souls then at San Diego should have been about two hundred and fifty, but the San Carlos had had a very hard time at sea, not reaching San Diego, which place she found with difficulty, until twenty days after the arrival of the San Antenio which sailed five weeks later. She had, of the crew, but one sailor and the cook left alive; all the rest had died of scurvy. The first thing to be done was to found a Mission and to look for Monterey, which from Vizcayno's time had been lost to the world. For founding a Mission this was the proceeding:

Formal possession of the designated spot was taken in the name of Spain; a tent, or arbor, or whatever construction was most practicable, was erected to serve as a temporary church, and adorned as well as circumstances would permit; a Father in his robes blessed the place and the chapel, sprinkling them with water which also he had first blessed for the occasion, and immediately the Holy Cross, having first been adored by all, was mounted on a staff and planted in front of the chapel; a saint was named as a patron of the Mission, and a Father appointed as its minister; mass was said and a fervent discourse concerning the coming of the Holy Ghost delivered. That service, celebrated with such candles or other lights as they might have, being over, the Veni Creator Spiritus-an invocation to the Holy Ghost-was sung, whilst the continual firing of the soldiers during the ceremony supplied the place of an organ, and the smoke of the gunpowder that of incense if it was wanting.

The Mission being founded, the next thing was to attract the Indians. This was done in the simplest manner by presents of food and cloth to the older ones, and bits of sugar to the young ones. When they had learned enough of their language to communicate with them, they taught them the mysteries of the faith, and when they were able to say a few prayers and make in some sort a confession of faith, they were baptised and received into the fold of the Church. At the same time

they were drawn from a wandering life, collected in villages around the Mission Church, and instructed in the habits and arts of civilized life. To keep them in the practice of their lessons, spiritual and secular, the Father in charge of the Mission had over them the control of a master, and for them, the affection of a parent, and was supported in his authority by the soldiers at the Presidios, or an escort stationed at the Mission itself.

This was the mode of accomplishing what Galvez in his instructions declared to be the first object of the enterprise. And in this manner Father Junipero begun the work at San Diego on the 16th day of July. An untoward incident of a very unusual nature in California, attended this first essay. The Indians not being permitted to steal all the cloth they coveted, surprised the Mission when only four soldiers, the carpenter and blacksmith were present, and Father Junipero would have been murdered then at the outset, but for the muskets, leathern jackets and bucklers, and mainly the valor of the blacksmith. This man had just come from the communion, to which circumstance the Fathers attributed his heroism, and although he wore no defensive armor of skins, he rushed out shouting, vivas for the faith of Jesus Christ and death to the dogs, its enemies, at the same time firing away at the savages.

On the 14th day of July, the Governor Portalá and a servant; Father Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez; Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, the second in command, with a sergeant and twenty-six soldiers of the leathern-jackets; Lieutenant Pedro Fages and seven of his soldiers—the rest had died on the San Carlos or were left sick at San Diego; Don Miguel Constanzo, the Engineer; seven muleteers and fifteen Christian Indians, sixty-five persons in all, with a pack train carrying a large supply of provisions, set out to re-discover Monterey. The mortality on board the San Carlos prevented any attempt at that time by sea; that vessel having to be laid up at San Diego, whilst all the efficient men were transferred to the San Antonio, which was sent back with the news and for reinforcements; and lost nine men before reaching San Blas although she made the voyage in twenty days. Such was nav-

igation on this Coast at that time. Portalá returned to San Diego on the 24th of June, six months and ten days after his departure. He had been at the Port of Monterey, stopped there and set up a cross without recognizing the place. Father Crespi, who kept the diary, said he supposed the bay had been filled up, as they found a great many large sand-hills. This disappointment caused Portalá to keep on further towards the north, and at forty leagues distant in that direction they discovered the Port of San Francisco, which they recognized at once by the description they had of it. The Fathers considered this circumstance as providential. They remembered that when Galvez was instructing Father Junipero by what names to call the three Missions he was to found, the Father had asked him:

"But sir, is there to be no Mission for our Father St. Fran-"cis?" and that the Visitor-general had replied: "If St. Fran-"cis wants a Mission, let him show us his port, and we will " put one there." And in view of the discovery, they thought that it was now clear that St. Francis did want a Mission, and had concealed Monterrey from them purposely that they might go and find his Port; and Galvez to some extent may have been of the same opinion, as they say, for he ordered a Mission to be founded there, and a Presidio also, as soon as he received the news. However this may be, a question of more historical interest, or curiosity at least, is whether, notwithstanding that Portalá knew the port from description as soon as he saw it, any other white man ever had seen it before. His latest guide was the voyage of Vizcayno, who had entered the port of San Francisco on the 12th of January 1603, and anchored under a point of land called Punta de Los Reyes, namely in the bight outside the heads and north of point Bonita.

In the port of San Francisco, as known to Vizcayno, the Manila galleon San Augustine had been wrecked a few years before. Did a galleon ever enter our bay? Vizcayno was searching for a port to shelter the Manila trade; if he had seen our harbor would he have ever thought of reccommending Monterey? he was doubtless following the pilot who gave the information of the loss of the San Augustine; if that pilot had

seen this port would not the specific object of Vizcayno have been to find it again, and not generally to explore the coast to look for a good harbor? Had anything been known of it, would it not have been mentioned by Galvez in his first instructions to Villa, in which he is so earnest on the subject of Monterey? Would he have waited for this news to have given the urgent orders that he did, that this important place should be taken possession of immediately, for fear that it might fall into the hands of foreigners? It seems to me certain that Portalá was the discoverer. And I regard it as one of the most remarkable facts in history, that others had passed it, anchored near it and actually given its name to adjacent roadsteads, and so described its position that it was immediately known; and yet that the cloud had never been lifted which concealed the entrance of the Bay of San Francisco, and that it was at last discovered by land.

Although Portalá reported that he could not find the port of Monterey, it was suspected at the time that he had been there. Father Junipero writes that such was his opinion and that of Don Vincente Villa of the San Carlos. In the same letter he mentions another matter, and one which disturbed him greatly. The Governor Portalá finding his provisions very short, determined if a vessel did not arrive with relief, to abandon the Mission on the 20th of March.

But California was saved at the last moment. The San Antonio came in on the 19th and brought such a quantity of provisions, that Portalá set out again by land, and Father Junipero himself embarked on the San Antonio, which had proved herself a good sailer and well commanded, and anchored in the Bay of Monterey, namely, on the 31st day of May, 1770, and found that the expedition by land had arrived eight days before; and we thus see that the journey from San Diego at that time was made quicker by land than by water. Father Junipero writes that he found the lovely port of Monterey the same and unchanged in substance and in circumstance, as the expedition of Sebastian Vizcayno left it in 1603; and that all the officers of sea and land, and all their people assembled in the same glen and under the same oak, where the Fathers of Vizcayno's expedition had

worshipped, and there arranged their altar, hung up and rung their bells, sung the VENI CREATOR, blessed the holy water, set up and blessed the cross and the royal standards, concluding the whole with a Te Deum. And there the name of Christ was again spoken for the first time after an interval of more than one hundred and sixty-seven years of silence. After the religious ceremonies were over, the officers went through the act of taking possession of the country "in the name of our Lord the King."

When this news was received at the city of Mexico it created a profound impression. At the request of the Vicerov the bells of the Cathedral were rung, and those of all the other churches answered; people ran about the streets to tell one another the story, and all the distinguished persons at the capital waited upon the Viceroy, who, in company with Galvez, received their congratulations at the palace; and that not only the inhabitants of the city of Mexico, but also those of all New Spain might participate in the general joy, the Viceroy caused a narrative of the great achievement to be printed; and which, indeed, was circulated throughout Old as well as New Spain. It commences by referring to the costly and repeated expeditions which were made by the crown of Spain during the two preceding centuries to explore the western coast of California and to occupy the important port of Monterey, which now, it says, has been most happily accomplished; and it is jubilant throughout. Nothing of this sort occurred when they heard a short time before of the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco: and in this authoritative relation it is not even mentioned.

Governor Portalá, with the Engineer Constanzo, very soon returned to Mexico in the good ship San Antonio, and carried themselves the tidings of their success. We may imagine what a description they gave when we remember that they left San Diego about the middle of April, and that at that season the country through which they passed to Monterey was mottled all over with the brightest and most varied colors. They were the first to behold a California spring in all its boundless profusion of flowers. When they were gone there remained only Father Junipero Serra and tive priests, and the Lieutenant Pedro Fages and thirty soldiers in all California; for the

Captain, Rivera y Moncada, with nineteen soldiers, the muleteers and vaqueros, was at this time absent too, in Lower California, whither he had gone to bring up a band of two hundred cattle and provisions. It is impossible to imagine anything more lonely and secluded than their situation here, at the time the bells were ringing so joyfully in Mexico, on their account. Very soon, however, they began to get on good terms with the Indians, for Father Junipero was not a man to lose any time in beginning his work. And when they came to understand one another, the Indiaus there, under the pines, told them awful tales about the cross which Portalá had set up the year before when he stopped at Monterey without knowing the place; how when they first saw the whites they noticed that each one carried a shining cross upon his breast; and how they were so terrified when they found the whites had gone and had left that large one standing on the shore that at first they dared not approach it; that at night it shone with dazzling splendor, and would rise and grow until it seemed to reach the skies; and how, seeing nothing of this sort about it in the day time, and that it was only of its proper size, they had at last taken courage and gone up to it, and to make friends with it, had stuck arrows and feathers around it in the earth, and had hung strings of sardines on its arms, as the Spaniards had found on their return. For the truth of this story the prudent Father would not vouch, but they were still willing to regard it as an omen, and to attribute to it their easy success in converting the natives of those parts, as Father Junipero wrote to the Viceroy for his edification and encouragement. Father Junipero soon removed his Mission from Monterey to a more suitable place close by, on the river Carmelo. This was his own Mission, where he always resided when not engaged in founding or visiting other Missions, or in some other duty appertaining to his office of President of the Missions of Upper California. This high office he held for the first fifteen years of the history of California, and until his death, which occurred at his Mission of Carmel on the 28th of August, 1784. His activity and zeal in the conversion and civilization of savages are really wonderful, and scarcely intelligible to us. The sight of a band of Indians filled him with as much delight as at this day a man feels at the prospect of making a fortune. He regarded them as so many souls that he was to save; and the baptism of an Indian baby filled him with transport. With what sort of a spirit he worked for these creatures you see pleasantly exhibited in the foundation of the Mission of San Antonio de Padua, some twenty or thirty leagues below Monterey. With an escort, a couple of priests and a pack train carrying all the necessary articles for a new Church, he goes off into the mountains, examines all the hollows, and selects a beautiful little plain through which flowed a Here he orders the mules to be unpacked, and small river. the bells to be hung upon a tree, and as soon as that is done he seizes the rope and begins to ring, crying out at the same time at the top of his voice, "Hear! hear! oh ye Gen-"tiles! Come to the Holy Church! Come to the Faith of "Jesus Christ!" Father Péyras, who was with him, remonstrates, "what do you stop for? Is not this the place for the "Church, and are there no Gentilcs in this neighborhood?" "Let me alone," says Father Junipero; "let me unburthen "my heart, which could wish that this bell should be heard "by all the world, or at least by all the Gentiles in these "mountains"—and so he rung away there in the wilderness.

The Missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara were not founded for several years after the occupation of Monterey. The wants of the new Missions of his jurisdiction induced the Reverend Father President Junipero, to make a journey to Mexico to see the Viceroy in person, and although he succeeded to his satisfaction in other things, it was only after much entreaty that he obtained a promise that these two Missions should be established after communication was opened by land. This was done by Captain Juan Bantista Anza in 1773 whilst Father Junipero was absent on his visit to Mexico. [NOTE—A grand-daughter of Captain Juan Bantista Anza is now living in this city. She is the wife of Don Manuel Ainsa, and the mother of a large family of great grand-children of the first Pioneer who came to Upper California, direct from Mexico by land.] He made his report to the Viceroy in 1774, and came

back again with a considerable number of soldiers and families in 1776. In the meantime in anticipation of his arrival the San Carlos was sent up to examine the port of San Francisco, and ascertain whether it could be really entered by a channel or mouth which had been seen from the land. This great problem was satisfactorily solved by the San Carlos—a ship of perhaps some two hundred tons burthen at the very utmost-in the month of June 1775. When she entered, they reported that they had found a land-locked sea with two arms, one making into the interior about fifteen leagues to the south-east, another three, four or may be five, leagues to the north, where there was a large bay about ten leagues across, and of a round figure, into which emptied the great river of our Father St. Francis which was fed by five other rivers, all of them copious streams, flowing through a plain so wide that it was bounded only by the horizon, and meeting to form the said great river; and all this immensity of water discharging itself through the said channel or mouth into the Pacific ocean, which is there called the Gulf of the Farallones. This very striking description was accurate enough for the purposes of that day, and as soon as Anza and his people had arrived and Anza in person had gone up and selected the sites, a party was sent by land and another by sea to establish the Presidio and Mission of San Francisco. The date of the foundation of the Presidio is the 17th of September, and of the Mission, the 9th of October, 1776. The historian mentions in connection with these proceedings some things which may claim a moment's attention. In the Valley of San José, the party coming up by land saw some animals which they took for cattle, though they could not imagine where they came from, and supposing they were wild. and would scatter the tame ones they were driving, the soldiers made after them and succeeded in killing three which were so large that a mule could with difficulty carry one being of the size of an ox, and with horns like those of a deer, but so long that their tips were eight feet apart. This was their first view of the Elk. The soldiers made the observation that they could not run against the wind by reason of these monstrous antlers. And after the Presidio, and before the Mission was established an exploration of the interior was organized, as usual by sea and land. Point San Pablo was given as the rondezvous, but the captain of the Presidio who undertook in person to lead the land party, failed to appear there, having with the design to shorten the distance entered a cañada somewhere near the head of the bay which took him over to the San Joaquin river. So he discovered that stream.

Then there are some traits of the first inhabitants of this place, the primitive San Franciscans. They lived upon muscles and acorns, blackberries, strawberries and fish, and delighted above all things in the blubber of whales, when one was stranded on the coast. They wore no clothes at all, at least the men, and the women very little, but they were not ashamed. They found it cold all the year round, (as did the Fathers who first took charge of the Mission,) and, to protect themselves, were in the habit of plastering their bodies with mud. They said it kept them warm, and when the sun came out they would wash off the mud. Their marriages were very informal, the ceremony consisting in the consent alone of the parties; and their law of divorce was equally simple, for they separated as soon as they quarreled, and joined themselves to another, the children usually following the mother. They had no other expression to signify that the marriage was dissolved than to say, "I have thrown her away," or "I have thrown him away." And in some of their customs they seemed to have been Mormons. In their marriages, affinity was not regarded as an objection, but rather an inducement. They prefered to marry their sisters-in-law, and even their mothers-inlaw; and the rule was, if a man married a woman he also married all her sisters, having many wives who lived together, without jealousy, in the same house, and treated each other's children with the same love as their own. Father Junipero's death closes the first period of our history. It is a period marked by exploits—they are those of humble and devoted yet heroic mis-The story is diversified with only such simple incidents as that in the summer of 1772 the commander, Pedro Fages, had to go out and kill bears for provisions, to subsist on, which formidable game he found in abundance somewhere near San Luis Obispo in a cañada that still justly bears the name of Cañada de los Osos; and that in 1780 the frost killed the growing grain at Easter. And only one instance of bloodshed attended the happy course of the spiritual conquest. The vicious Indians of San Diego, on a second attempt, murdered one of the Fathers, and two or three other persons, and burned the mission, which some little time afterwards was reëstablished. We are told that they were prompted to this deed by the ENEMY OF Souls, who was very much incensed at finding his party falling into a minority by reason of the constant conversions of the heathen in that neighborhood. All the seeds that Galvez was so provident in sending up took root and prospered beyond the most sanguine expectations, which he could have entertained when he predicted that the soil would prove as fertile as that of old Spain; and the cattle increased and multiplied with an increase without a parallel, so that in a short time his purpose, that there should be no lack of something to eat in this country, was fully accomplished.

Our historian is the Friar, Father Francisco Palou, one of the followers of Father Junipero, whose life, like a devout disciple, he wrote here at the Mission of San Francisco. He was the first priest who had charge of this Mission, and his book was written here in 1785. It was printed in the city of Mexico in It is the first undoubtedly, but not the worst book written in California. Copies of the original edition may be found in some private libraries of this city, bound in sheepskin, clasped with loops and buttons of the same, and with a long list of errata at the end. The volume is of itself an object of interest. To the work there is a preface which bespeaks the indulgence of the reader, because it was written among " barbarous gentiles, in the port of San Francisco, in his new " Mission, the most northern of New California, without books " or men of learning to consult." There are also the reports of several censors, and both a civil and ecclesiastical license to print it, and likewise a protest, of which the writer is entitled to the benefit at this day. He declares, in obedience to the Church, the Inquisition and the Pope, that he intends and desires that no more faith should be given to his performance than to a mere human history, and that the epithets he gives Father Junipero, and the title of martyrs which he bestowed on some of the other missionaries, are to be understood as mere human honors, and such as are permitted by a prudent discretion and a devout faith. The narrative is clear and circumstantial. well supported by public and private writings, and obviously The miraculous is always introduced as hearsay, and whilst it does not impeach the veracity of the writer, serves still further to illustrate the times by showing us the simple credulity of the class to which he belonged—the founders and first settlers of California. With the book there is a map. It exhibits the coast of Upper California, from San Diego to San Francisco. only objects visible on it are nine missions and a dotted line. to show the road that the fathers traveled, from one to the other, viz.: San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, San Luis (Obispo,) San Antonio, San Carlos de Monterey, Santa Clara, San Francisco: and three, Presidios Monterey, Santa Barbara and San Diego, all lying near the coast, and back all a blank. Looking upon this old map we realize that California was designed for the Indians. They were to be its people after they were converted and instructed, as others had been in Mexico. The missions were to be the towns. sidios were to protect the missions within, and defend the country from enemies without. Only enough settlers were to be introduced to relieve the Government from some part of the burden of supplying the presidios with recruits and provisions from Mexico. For this purpose the Puebl-soSan José de Guadalupe and Los Angeles, one in the north and the other in the south were established, both in the time of Father Junipero Serra. A small tract of land was given to these villages for their use collectively, and smaller parcels to each inhabitant as his private property. Neither of these pueblos appear on this old map - of such little consequence were they regarded. Father Palou, in relating the rejoicings at Mexico. in consequence of the discovery of Monterey, says: "The said " extent of three hundred leagues in length"—an inaccurate measurement of the new dominions of the King in Upper California—"is of fertile lands, peopled with an immensity of "gentiles, from whose docile and peaceable dispositions it was "hoped they would be immediately converted to our holy faith, and "gathered in Catholic pueblos (villages,) that thus living in sub-"jection to the royal crown they might secure the coasts of this "Southern or Pacific Ocean." The first grant of land made in California was a tract one hundred and forty varas square, at the Mission of San Carlos, Nov. 27, 1775, to one Manuel Butron, a soldier, in consideration that he had married Margarita, a daughter of that mission. Father Junipero recommends this family, to wit: the soldier and the native Indian woman, to the Government, and all the other ministers of the King, "as be-" ing the first in all these establishments which have chosen to become permanent settlers of the same." The Indian appears in everything.

In tranquility, this California of the Indians remained for more than fifty years. The Fathers built new Missions, and continually replenished their stock of converts, which at one time amounted to at least twenty thousand. They planted vineyards, orchards and the olive. They taught the Indians to some extent, agriculture and the mechanic arts. They made flour, and wine, and cloth, and soap, and leather, adobes and tiles, and with their villages of disciples about them, lived at ease as well as in peace. There was but one obstacle in their way. A great law of Nature rose up to oppose them. Indian of California was not equal to those of Mexico. He was but a brute. The time never came when he could be enfranchised and trusted to himself, and converted into a Spanish subject as so many races had been further south. Fathers must continue to hold their converts in subjection, or they would return to the heathen state, or even worse would befall them. If the world could have afforded to devote a paradise to such a purpose, and for the Indian certainly, it would have been well if the Missions could have lasted forever. I will endeavor to present some of the features and some of the events of this Indian period, as briefly as possible-And here for whatever of interest I may be able to awaken in the subject, I shall be indebted to Mr. R. C. Hopkins, the

accomplished and learned gentleman who has charge of the Spanish Archives in the Surveyor General's office.

An American audience will of course desire to know something of the form of the political government. Constitution or Charter there was none. The Government was purely military, outside of the Missions. All functions, civil and military, judicial and economical, were united in the person of the commandante of a Presidio, in due subjection to his superior. and so on up to the King, an autocrat, whose person was represented and whose will was executed in every part of his do-In the archives is to be found a REGLAMENTO, which as the name imports, is a set of regulations for the Peninsula of the Californias, Lower and Upper. Its caption expresses that it is for the government of the Presidios, the promotion of the erection of new Missions, and of the population and extension of the establishments of Monterey. It was drafted at Monterey by the Governor, in 1779, sent to Madrid, and approved by the King in 1781. When examined, it is found to adopt the Royal Reglamento for the government of all the Presidios, with such small variations as the circumstances of California required. There are minute provisions for paying, clothing and feeding the officers and troops, and for supporting the families of the troops, and other persons dependent on the Presidios. The number of pack mules to be kept at the Presidios. and how the horses are to be pastured, and that four are always to be kept in the Presidio ready saddled by day, and eight by night, is prescribed. Another Pueblo was to be founded, as was done, namely, Los Angeles. The Pueblo of San José had already been founded, two years before. The intent of these Pueblos is declared to be to fulfill the pious designs of the King for converting the Gentiles, and to secure his dominions. date, says the Reglamento, the country was filled, from San Diego to Monterey, with an immense number of Gentiles, and only one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine Christians, of both sexes, in the eight Missions, strung along through all that The manner in which Pueblos are to be founded is given; each settler to have his building lot and sowing field of two hundred varas square, that being supposed to be enough

to sow two bushels of grain; and the whole together to have commons for wood, water and pasturage: also a certain number of horses, mules, oxen, cows, sheep, chickens, ploughs, hoes, axes, etc., are to be furnished to each; and the amount of pay. for a settler had his salary for a little while as well as his outfit. his exemptions and his obligations are all minutely detailed. Of the first we observe, that for the first five years he is to be free from the payment of tithes; of the latter, that all the excess of his productions beyond his support he must sell at a fixed price to the Presidios, and that he must keep a horse and saddle, carbine and lance, and hold himself in readiness for the service of the King. Also, we note that the building lot is a homestead, and cannot be alienated or mortgaged, and descends to the son or (in default of a son, I suppose,) to the daughter, provided she is married to a settler who is without a lot of his own; and that after the first five years are past each settler and his descendants must, in recognition of the absolute property of the King, pay a rent of one-half fanega of corn for his sowing lot. The only trace of a political right that we find in the Reglamento is the allowance to the Pueblos, of Alcaldes and other municipal officers, to be appointed by the Governor for the first two years, and afterwards to be elected by the inhabitants. These officers were to see to the good government and police of the Pueblos, and the administration of justice, to direct the public works, apportion to each man his share of the water for irrigation, and generally to enforce the provisions of the Reglamento. This, perhaps, was as much as they ought to have had, for we see in the proceedings on the foundation of San José, that neither the Alcalde nor any one of the eight other settlers could sign his As a check upon the abuse of their privileges the elections were subject to the approval of the Governor, who had also the power to continue to appoint the officers for three years longer if he found it necessary.

At first California formed a part of the Kingdom of New Spain, and was governed directly by the Viceroy at Mexico. In 1776 it was attached to the COMMANDANCIA GENERAL OF THE INTERNAL PROVINCES, which included, also, Sonora, New

Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Texas. Afterwards it was a part of the Commandancia General of the Internal PROVINCES OF THE WEST, when Coahuila and Texas, New Leon and the Colony of New Santander had been erected into another jurisdiction, under the title of the INTERNAL PROVIN-CES OF THE EAST. The Commandante General seems to have had no fixed residence, but to have gone from place to place, wherever his presence might be wanted, and so his orders are sometimes dated from Arispe, and sometimes from Chihuahua, both of which now obscure places, may be said in their time to have been the capital of California. The Apache and Comanche Indian has watered his horse in their Plazas since then. This arrangement did not last many years, and California reverted to the Viceroy again. Laws came from the King, in his Council of the Indies, at Madrid, as orders are issued by the commander-in-chief of an army; to the second in command, to wit., the Viceroy at Mexico, from him to his next in rank, we will say the Commandante General at Arispe or Chihuahua, from him to the Governor of California at Monterey, and from him to the Captain or Lieutenant in command of a Presidio. They took effect only as they were published, spreading as the courier advanced, and from place to place in succession, like a wave, from center to circumference. They came slowly, but in time every order of a general nature would find its way into the archives of every Province, Presidio or Pueblo in North and South America, and of every island of the ocean. which owned the dominion of the King of Spain. The archives of this State contain a great many, and their counterparts are to be looked for in every public office from Havana to Manila, and from Chihuahua to Valparaiso. When wars. or the accidents of navigation, or the urgency of the case, interrupted or rendered impossible communication with Madrid, each Viceregent of the King in his department exercised the royal authority. Therefore, in the nature of things, the powers of every Governor in his Province were practically despotic. And not only the laws, but every other expression of the wishes of the King were transmitted in the same way, traveled through the same circuitous channels, and were received and published and executed with the same dignity and formality. Here is an example from the archives:

The King heard that the neighborhood of the Presidio of San Francisco abounded with deer of a very superior quality, and desiring to have some for his park, issued an order to the Viceroy of Mexico, who in his turn ordered the Commandante General of the Internal Provinces of the West, who despatched an order to the Governor of the Province of California, who ordered the Captain of the Presidio of San Francisco, who finally ordered a soldier to go out and catch the deer, two years after the order was given by the King at Madrid. Allowing a reasonable time for the hunt, and for sending the animals to Spain, it will be seen that the King had to wait sometime for the gratification of his royal wishes.

Another instance, and the more striking, as the subject matter belongs to the latitude of the Equator, and as it serves to illustrate that the arbitrary government of his Catholic Majesty was paternal and thoughtful as well, I give a translation of the original, complete:

Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, Commandante General of the Internal Provinces, writes to Pedro Fages, Govenor of California, as follows:

"On the 20th of November last past, His Excellency the Marquis of Sonora, (Viceroy of Mexico) was pleased to communicate to me the following Royal Order—

"The Archbishop Viceroy of Sante Fé, (in South Amer"ica) on the 2d of July last, gave me an account of a remedy
"happily discovered by his confessor, against the ravages
"of the Jigger (Nigua) in the hot countries of America, which
"consists in anointing the parts affected by the Jiggers with
"cold olive oil, which causes them to die, and the sacs con"taining them can be easily extracted—which the King desires
"should be published as a Bando (Proclamation) in the district
"under your government, in order that it may reach the notice
"of all; and you shall take care that all those who are afflicted
"with said insect shall use said remedy, which is as effectual
"as it is simple."

And I insert the same to you in order that you may cause it

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to be published. May God preserve your life many years. Arispe, April 22, 1787.

JACOBO UGARTE Y LOYOLA."

And so this valuable specific was made known by a public crier and with a roll of drums, all the world over, even here in California where the troublesome insect is fortunately unknown.

The Couriers, who were the Overland Mail of that day, on leaving, for instance Monterey, received a certificate from the Commandante of the Presidio, that he started at a certain hour; on his arrival at the next stopping place he presented his certificate to the officer in command of the place, who noted the hour of his arrival and departure, and so on at all the stopping places between Monterey and La Paz in Lower California; so that if the mail carrier loitered on the way his way-bill would show it. Such way-bills from Monterey to La Paz with all these memoranda on them, may be found in the Archives. It was the unfortunate mail rider, and not the Government, that people were in the habit of blaming in those These way-bills show that he made the distance from San Francisco to San Diego in five days. Quiet old days! But little of a public sort was doing then in Calfornia. There was a dispute that amounted to something like a law suit between the Mission of Santa Clara and the Pueblo of San José. It commenced from the very day of the establishment of the latter. Father Junipero objected to the Pueblo being so near the Mission, the boundary as at first established running about half way between the two places. Governor was obstinate and Father Junipero desired that his protest might be entered in the proceedings of the foundation, which the Governor refused. The controversy by no means died out: the head of the College of San Fernando at Mexico to which all the Franciscans of California belonged, brought it before the Viceroy praying him not to allow the Indians and Missionaries to be molested by the Pueblo. The Governor of California was therefore ordered to investigate the matter, and seems to have settled it by making the river Guadalupe the boundary from that time forward. Again; one Mariano

Castro obtained from the Viceroy permission to settle himself upon a place called LA BREA, in the neighborhood of the Mission of San Juan Bautista; under this license he applied to the Governor to give him the possession of the land, but the Priests at San Juan objected strenuously, alleging that the place of LA BREA was needed by the Mission for its cattle. This was represented by the Governor to the Viceroy, who in the end told Castro to select some other place; and the Mission kept LA BREA. We see with what jealousy, and how effectively, the Fathers vindicated the title of themselves and their Indian pupils to their California.

For a complete view of the internal constitution of California at that day, two facts, which are exceptional to this ecclesiastical domination require to be noted.

In 1791. Pedro Nava commandante of the Internal Provinces of the West, in a decree dated at Chihuahua, gives to the Captains commanding Presidios, or recognizes as already existing in them, authority to grant building lots to the soldiers and other residents, within the space of four square leagues. do not know, but presume that this rower was exercised at San Diego, Santa Barbara and Monterey, and hence the origin of the towns bearing those names, which at a later period come into view as such. At San Francisco however there is nothing. in the Archives or elsewhere yet discovered, to show that such a grant was ever made by the Captain of the Presidio. And in 1795 a commissioner was appointed under the orders of the Viceroy to select a place and establish another town, who reported that "the worst place or situation in California, is that " of San Francisco for the formation of a Villa as proposed." And therefore the Villa of Branciforte, so called in honor of the Viceroy, the Marquis of Branciforte, was by great preference established near the Mission of Santa Cruz. It never attained any consequence and some adobe ruins may now attest its former existence.

Suspicion and exclusion were the rule towards foreigners. On the 23d of October 1776, the Viceroy writes to the Govornor of California:—"That the King having received intelligence that two armed vessels had sailed from London under

"the command of Captain Cook, bound on a voyage of dis-"covery to the southern ocean, and the northern coast of Cali-"fornia, commands that orders be given to the Governor of "California to be on the watch for Captain Cook, and not " permit him to enter the ports of California." At a later day a better spirit prevailed towards Vancouver, who spent some time in 1793 in the port of Monterey. We have a voluminous correspondence of his with the Governor-the letters in English, and written with his own hand. He sets forth the harmonious understanding existing between England and his Catholic Majesty of Spain and their united efforts in the cause of humanity, and asks assistance in arresting some deserters, and obtaining supplies, &c., which he will pay for with bills on London. Instructions had been previously received by the Governor to treat Vancouver well. We see in this amiability between old enemies that the great French Revolution was making itself felt even on this remote coast. And in some of the letters of the Fathers of a little later period we find Napoleon spoken of as the great "LUZBEL," (LUCIFER)-for such he appeared to their imagination in their Missions.

The first mention of an American ship occurs in the following letter from the Governor of California to the Captain of the Presidio of San Francisco:

[&]quot;Whenever there may arrive at the port of San Fran"cisco a ship named the Columbia, said to belong to Gen"eral Washington, of the American States, commanded
"by John Rendrick, which sailed from Boston in Septem"ber, 1787, bound on a voyage of discovery to the Rus"sian establishments on the northern coast of this penin"sula, you will cause the said vessel to be examined with
"caution and delicacy, using for this purpose a small
"boat, which you have in your possession, and taking the
"same measures with every other suspicious foreign ves"sel, giving me prompt notice of the same.

[&]quot;MAY GOD PRESERVE YOUR LIFE MANY YEARS.
"PEDRO FAGES.

[&]quot;SANTA BARBARA, May 13th, 1789. "To Josef Arguello."

Twenty years before, this same Fages had sailed on the San Carlos to re-discover and people California. The San Carlos and the Columbia, and Fages the connecting link! The United States of America and California joined for the first time in a thought! It is impossible by any commentary to highten the interest with which we read this document. Its very errors, even to the Governor's ignorance of the geography of his own country, are profoundly suggestive.

The Columbia did not enter the ports of California, but made land further to the north, and discovered the Columbia river.

Fourteen years later, it would appear, that American ships were more frequent on this coast.

On the 26th of August, 1803, José Argüello, Comandante of the Presidio of San Francisco, writes to Gov. José Joaquin de Arrillaga:

"That on the first of the present month, at the hour of evening prayers, two American vessels anchored in the port (San Francisco,) one named the Alexander, under the command of Capt. John Brown, and the other named the Aser, under the command of Thomas Raben; that as soon as they anchored, the captain came ashore to ask permission to get supplies of wood and water, when observing that he was the same Brown that was there in the preceding month of March, he refused to give him permission to remain in port; that on the day following, at six in the morning, he received a letter from the captain (or supercargo,) a copy of which he transmits, which is as follows:

"Port of San Francisco, August 12th, 1803.

To the Señor Comandante of the Port:

Notwithstanding your order for our immediate departure from this port, I am constrained to say that our necessities are such as to render it impossible for us to do so. I would esteem it a great favor if you would come aboard and see for yourself the needy circumstances in which we are placed, for during the whole of the time we have been on the north-west coast we have had no opportunity of supplying ourselves with wood and water, the Indians being so savage that we have not been

able to hold any kind of friendly intercourse with them whatever.

We had several fights with them in the Straits of Chatham; the first was in the port of *Istiquin*, where we were attacked by three hundred canoes, each canoe containing from ten to twenty-three Indians, each one with two or three escopetas and their pistols and spears. Three times, in one day, they attempted to take the ship, but we defended the same without losing any of our men.

From this port we went to the Ensenada of Icana, in said straits, at which place we found about a thousand Indians encamped, many of whom came aboard our vessel for purposes of trade, carrying their arms in one hand and their skins in the

other.

After we had been four days in this port, all the Indians came aboard, saying that they were not afraid of the Americans, since they were but few, while there were many Indians, who

had many arms.

On the fifth day of our stay in this port, about six o'clock in the evening, three or four canoes came alongside the ship, and on being ordered to leave they refused, when our Captain seized a gun and fired it in the air, on which the Indians laughed very much, saying he did not know how to shoot, and could not kill; whereupon the Captain seized another gun, fired at and killed the Indian, on which the rest retired to the land, and all of them went to a neighboring Island; and from ten o'clock at night till eight in the morning they made no further demonstrations against us, at which time we made sail, in the meantime striking upon a rock and somewhat injuring our vessel.

From this port we went to Juan de Fuca, at which place we learned from the chief, Tatacu, that the chief Quatlazape had taken the ship Boston; that when the said vessel had been some four days in port the Indian Chief and the Captain of the ship having some difficulty in relation to trade, the Captain of the ship said to the Chief that he had traded with many Chiefs to the north, and that he knew he did not act like an honorable Chief; whereupon the Chief, Pioeque replied to the Captain that he was a bad man; at this the Captain seized a gun and ordered him ashore; whereupon he went to bis Rancheria and issued an order for the assembling of all the neighboring Indians, from the straits of Juan de Fuca to the point of Nutka, which were so assembled within three days; and after holding a council they determined to take the Boston, which they effected in the following manner: At seven o'clock

in the morning they went aboard and asked permission of the Captain to have a dance, as a ceremony of the renewal of friendship after their recent dispute. To which the Captain replied that he was willing that they should do so. Accordingly, at eight o'clock in the morning, a company of Chiefs came and danced on the quarter-deck, having, in the meantime, ordered their people to arm themselves with knives, so that while they were dancing they could jump aboard and kill the whole crew, which they did; for while they were dancing they made presents of otter skins to the Captain, and also to the sailors, who in a short time had collected on the quarter-deck, when suddenly the Indians fell upon them in their defenceless condition and butchered all save two, who escaped and concealed themselves; the Indians carrying off everything that could be removed during the whole of that day and night, and until twelve o'clock the following day; having, in the meantime, discovered the two hidden sailors, who, after some cruel treatment, were handed over to the Chief, who spared their lives, and they are now at that place. On the following day the ship was beached, and her decks and part of cargo Quatlazape has made a fortification at the place where the Spaniards were established.

This is all the account I am able to give of the matter, and I pray you, in the name of God, to come aboard our ship and see the needy circumstances in which we are placed, destitute of wood and water, and our vessel needing repairs. Trusting in your Christian charity, and that of your nation, we hope to be permitted to remain in this port the time necessary to obtain supplies and make repairs, since otherwise, we will cer-

tainly lose our ship.

God preserve your life many years. James Rowan."

Times have changed, and Yankee Captains are not now so meek in the Port of San Francisco. We do not know what John Brown had been doing in March, nor can we vouch for the truth of all the particulars of their adventures on the northwest coast, especially not for the number of escopetas and other arms carried by each Indian. The loss of the Boston was doubtless communicated to her owners and the public by John Brown and Thomas Rab(v)en, on their return to the United States. The guardians of this port do not note now the arrival of foreign ships by the hour of evening prayers. There was a contrast of national habits then, between the shore and and the Yankee ships; and the same contrast exists undimin-

ished between the California of 1803 and 1860. From time to time other American vessels, traders to the northwest coast and whalers, are said to have occasionally entered these waters, but as it was a Spanish colony there could be no American commerce; and it was after the independence, therefore, that the hide trade sprung up.

With the beginning of the century, earthquakes make their appearance for the first time of record in the archives, and with startling effect. I prefer, on this subject, to give the words of the contemporaneous documents.

Account of earthquake at San Juan Bautista, as given in letter of Capt. of Presidio of Monterey, to Gov. Arrillaga, on the 31st of Oct., 1800:

"I have to inform your Excellency that the Mission of San Juan Bautista, since the 11th inst., has been visited by severe earthquakes; that Pedro Adriano Martinez, one of the Fathers of said Mission, has informed me that, during one day, there were six severe shocks; that there is not a single habitation, although built with double walls, that has not been injured from roof to foundation, and that all are threatened with ruin; and that the Fathers are compelled to sleep in the wagons to avoid danger, since the houses are not habitable. At the place where the rancheria is situated, some small openings have been observed in the earth, and also in the neighborhood of the river Pajaro there is another deep opening, all resulting from the earthquakes. These phenomena have filled the Fathers and inhabitants of that Mission with consternation.

"The Lieutenant Don Raymundo Carillo has assured me the same, for on the 18th he stopped for night at this Mission (San Juan,) on his journey from San José, and being at supper with one of the Fathers, a shock was felt, so powerful, and attended with such a loud noise as to deafen them, when they fled to the court, without finishing their supper, and that about 11 o'clock at night the shock was repeated with almost equal strength.

"The Fathers of the Mission say that the Indians assure them that there have always been earthquakes at that place, and that there are certain cavities caused by the earthquakes. and that salt-water has flowed from the same.

"All of which I communicate to you for your information.

"May our Lord preserve your life many years.
"HERMENEGILDO SAL-

" Monterey, Oct. 31st, 1800."

San Juan Bautista is the Mission between Monterey and San José, about twenty miles from the former and forty from the latter. The next mention comes nearer home.

Account of earthquake at Presidio of San Francisco, given by Luis Argüello, Capt. of Presidio, to Gov. Arrillaga, on the 17th of July, 1808,

"I have to report to your Excellency that since the 21st of June last to the present date, twenty-one shocks of earthquakes have been felt in this Presidio, some of which have been so severe that all the walls of my house have been cracked, owing to the bad construction of the same, one of the ante-chambers being destroyed; and if up to this time no greater damage has been done, it has been for the want of materials to destroy, there being no other habitations. The barracks of the Fort of San Joaquin, [the name of the fort at the Presidio,] have been threatened with entire ruin, and I fear if these shocks continue some unfortunate accident will happen to the troops at the Presidio.

"God preserve the life of you Excellency many years.
"Luis Arguello.

"San Francisco, July 17th, 1808."

It could not be said now, if such shocks as these were to come again, that the damage was limited by the "want of material to destroy." I acknowledge a preference for one-story houses, and built of wood.

About this time the Russians were first seen in California. "Von Resanoff, Chamberlain of the Emperor of Russia, re"turning from his embassy to Japan, after having inspected by
"order of the Court of St. Petersburg, the ports, establish"ments, and trading houses that the Imperial Russian-Ameri"can Fur Company possessed, as well on the side of Asia, at
"Kamschatka and in the Aleutian Islands, as on the Con"tinent and Islands of the north-west coast of America,
"anchored at the Port of San Francisco, in the month of May,
"1807." So says the French traveller De Mofras, who visited
"California in the years 1841 and '42." An English traveler,
Sir George Simson, Governor in Chief of the Hudson Bay
Company's Territories, who was here in the same year with
De Mofras, thus makes us acquainted with one of the parties

to a story of romantic love, the first consequence of the advent of the Russians.

"After dinner, (at Captain John Wilson's in Santa Barbara) we were joined by the remainder of our party, the Cowlitz having by this time come to an anchor; and we again sallied forth to see a few more of the lions. Among the persons whom we met this afternoon, was a lady of some historical celebrity. Von Resanoff, having failed, as elsewhere stated, in his attempt to enter the Columbia in 1806, continued his voyage as far as San Francisco, when, besides purchasing immediate supplies for Sitka, he endeavored in negotiation with the Commandante of the District and the Governor of the Province, to lay the foundation of a regular intercourse between Russian America and the California settlements. In order to cement the national union, he proposed uniting himself with Doña Concepcion Argüello, one of the Commandante's daughters, his patriotism clearly being its own reward, if half of Langsdorff's description was correct. "She was lively and animated, had sparkling, love inspiring eyes, beautiful teeth, pleasing and expressive features, a fine form, and a thousand other charms, yet her manners were perfectly simple and artless."

"The Chancellor, who was himself of the Greek Church, regarded the difference of religion with the eyes of a lover and a politician; but as his Imperial Master might take a less liberal view of the matter, he posted away to St. Petersburg, with the intention, if he should there be successful, of subsequently visiting Madrid, for the requisite authority to carry his schemes into full effect. But the Fates, with a voice more powerful than that of Emperors and Kings, forbade the bans; and Von Resanoff died on his road to Europe at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia, of a fall from his horse.

"Thus at once bereaved of her lover, and disappointed in the hope of being the pledge of friendship between Russia and Spain, Doña Concepcion assumed the habit, but not, I believe the formal vows of a Nun, dedicating her life to the instruction of the young, and the consolation of the sick. This little romance could not fail to interest us, and notwithstanding the ungracefulness of her conventual costume, and the ravages

of an interval of time, which had tripled her years, we could still discover in her face and figure, in her manners and conversation, the remains of those charms which had won for the youthful beauty, Von Rosanoff's enthusiastic love, and Langs. dorff's equally enthusiastic admiration. Though Doña Concepcion apparently loved to dwell on the story of her blighted affections, yet, strange to say, she knew not, till we mentioned it to her, the immediate cause of the Chancellor's sudden death. This circumstauce might, in some measure be explained by the fact, that Langsdorff's work was not published before 1814; but even then, in any other country than California, a lady who was still young, would snrely have seen a book, which besides detailing the grand incident of her life presented so gratifying a portrait of her charms."

How strange, as he justly remarks, that Doña Concepcion had never seen that book though it had been printed more than 25 years! [Gen. Vallejo, who was on the stand, here informed Mr. R. that this lady had died about eight months ago.]

The Russians, in 1812, came down from the North and established themselves at the port of Bodega, with one hundred Russians and one hundred Kodiak Indians. It is said that they asked permission of the Spanish authorities before doing so. The archives are full, however, of documents from 1812 up, showing the jealousy and fear with which they were regarded by Spain, and afterwards by Mexico. They occupied a strip along the the coast from Bodega northwards, and only a few leagues in depth, but without any precisely fixed limits.

In 1841 this establishment was at its best, consisting of 800 Russians or Russo-Asiatics, with a great number of native Indian tribes around them working for wages. It was to circumscribe these intruders that the priests crossed over and founded the Mission of San Rafael, in 1819, and of San Francisco Solano, at Sonoma, in 1823, and commenced another at Santa Rosa, in 1827. The Russians raised some grain and cattle, and trapped enormously. De Mofras, whom I follow, says that the Kodiaks, in their seal-skin boats, made bloody warfare upon the seals, beavers, and especially the otters, that

they hunted all the coasts, the adjacent islands, and even the marshes and innumerable inlets of the Bay of San Francisco; and that there were weeks when this bay alone produced seven or eight hundred otter skins; which may be true, but seems to me to be a very large number. In 1842 the Russians all left of their own accord, after having held their possessions, in the character of a Russian Colony, for thirty years as completely as they now hold Sitka, and without apparently paying the slightest attention to the priests or the soldiers who crossed over to look after them. At their fort of Ross, situated amid a forest of gigantic pines, a Greek Chapel reared its cross and belfries, with a most pleasing effect. The nearest Catholic Mission was but a little way off. Rome and Constantinople here met upon this coast, after a course of so many centuries, in opposite directions around the globe.

While Europe was convulsed, and America shaken, the profoundest quiet prevailed in California. After a long time they would hear of a great battle, or of the rise or fall of an empire, to perturb the souls of priests and other men. But the Government had other duties to perform, patriarchal and simple. On the 11th of February, 1797, Felipe de Goycochea, Captain of the Presidio of Santa Barbara, writes to Governor Borica as follows:

"I transmit to you a statement in relation to the schools of the Presidio, together with six copy books of the children, who are learning to write, for your superior information. May our Lord preserve your life many years.

Santa Barbara, Feb. 11, 1797.

FELIPE GOYCOCHEA."

These copy books are now in the archives for inspection. As they are the property of the State, I will give samples, which being translated, read: "The Ishmaelites having arrived"—"Jacob sent to see his Brother"—"Abimelech took her from Abraham." Good pious texts, and written in an old-fashioned round hand. Such was the employment of Governors and Captains in that stormy time; and so it continued through all the period of the mighty conflicts of Napoleon. Even the more protracted commotions of Mexico herself wrought no disturbance here.

The dominion of Spain came to an end in California after fiftytwo years of such peacefulness, without a struggle. Mexico having established her independence, California gave in her adherence in the following declaration:

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN CALIFORNIA.

In the Presidio of Monterey, on the 9th day of the month of April, 1822: The Senor Military and Political Governor of this Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, the Senors Captains Comandantes of the Presidios of Santa Barbara and San Francisco, Don Jose Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, and Don Luis Antonio de Arguello, the Captains of the militia companies of the batallion of Tepic and Mazatlan, Don Jose Antonio Navarrete, and Don Pablo de la Portilla, the Lieutenant Don Jose Maria Estudillo for the Presidial company of San Diego, the Lieutenant Don Jose Mariano Estrada for the Presidial company of Monterey, the Lieutenant of Artillery, Don Manuel Gomez, and the Reverend Fathers, Friar Mariano Payeras, and Friar Vicento Francisco de Sarria, the first as Prelate of these Missions, and the second as substitute of the Reverend Father President Vicario Foranco, Friar Jose Senan; Having assembled in obedience to previous citations (convocatorias) in the Hall of the Government House, and being informed of the establishment of the Kingdom of the Empire, and the instalation of the Sovereign Provisional Gubernative Junta in the capital of Mexico, by the official communication, and other documents, which the said Governor caused to be read in full assembly, said: that, for themselves, and in behalf of their subordinates, they were decided to render obedience to the orders intimated by the new supreme Government, recognizing, from this time, the Province as a dependent alone of the Government of the Empire of Mexico, and independent of the dominion of Spain, as well as of any other foreign power. In consideration of which, the proper oaths will be taken, in the manner prescribed by the Provisonal Regency, to which end the Superior Military and Political Chief will give the necessary orders, and the respective Commandantes of Presidios, and the Ministers of the Missions, will cause the fulfilment of the same to appear by means of certificates, which will be transmitted, with a copy of this Act, to the Most Excellent Minister, to whom it corresponds, and they signed, PABLO VICENTE DE SOLA,

PABLO VICENTE DE SOLA,
JOSE DE LA GUERRA Y NORIEGA,
LUIS ANTONIO ARGUELLO,
JOSE M. ESTUDILLO,
MANUEL GOMEZ,
PABLO DE LA PORTILLA,
JOSE MARIANO ESTRADA,
FR. MARIANO PAYERAS,
FR. VICENTE FRANCISCO DE SARRIA,
JOSE M. ESTUDILLO.

One of the signers of this instrument, Pablo Vicente de Sola, was at that time Governor under Spain, and held over for a year as Governor still under the Kingdom of the Empire, as expressed in the Declaration, and two others are the chiefs of the Ecclesiastical authorities, viz: the Prelate of the Missions, and the substitute of the Rev. Father President of the Missions. The style does not much resemble our immortal instrument; and, as another difference, we observe that all the parties to it are either Priests or soldiers.

The Spanish Governors were in all ten. Their names and the time they were respectively in office, as follows:

Gaspar de Portala	1767 to 1771
Felipe de Barri	1771 to 1774
Felipe de Neve	
Pedro Fages	
Jose Antonio Romeu	
Jose J. de Arrillaga, (ad interim)	
Diego de Borica	
Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga	1800 to 1814
Jose Arguello, (ad interim)	1914 to 1915
Pablo Vicente de Sola	1915 to 1999 and 1992
	1015 to 1022 and 1025
Under Mexico the list continues:	
Luis Arguello	1823 to 1826
Jose Ma. de Echandia	1826 to 1831
Manuel Victoria	1831 to 1832
Pio Pico, (ad interim)	
Jose Figueroa	
Jose Castro, (ad interim)	1835 to 1836
Nicholas Gutierrez	1836
Mariano Chico	
Nicholas Gutierrez, (again for a few months)	
Juan B Alvarado	1836 to 1842
Manuel Micheltorena	
Pio Pico	040

California, as a matter of course, accepted the Republic as readily as the Empire. But it was difficult to throw off old habits, and the following document discloses a temper towards strangers, not creditable to a liberal Government. It is of greatly more value, however, as the recorded evidence of the arrival of the first-American whoever came to California by land. Let him tell his own story.

LETTER FROM CAPT. JEDEDIAH S. SMITH TO FATHER DURAN.

Reverend Father:—I understand, through the medium of one of your Christian Indians, that you are anxious to know who we are, as

some of the Indians have been at the Mission and informed you that there were certain white people in the country. We are Americans, on our journey to the River Columbia; we were in at the Mission San Gabriel in January last; I went to San Diego and saw the General, and got a passport from him to pass on to that place. I have made several efforts to cross the mountains, but the snows being so deep I could not succeed in getting over. I returned to this place (it being the only point to kill meat) to wait a few weeks until the snow melts so that I can go on; the Indians here also being friendly, I consider it the most safe point for me to remain, until such time as I can cross the mountains with my horses, having lost a great many in attempting to cross ten or fifteen days since. I am a long ways from home, and am anxious to get there as soon as the nature of the case will admit. situation is quite unpleasant, being destitute of clothing, and most of the necessaries of life, wild meat being our principal subsistance. am, Reverend Father, your strange, but real friend and Christian brother, J. S. SMITH.

May 19, 1827.

His encampment must have been somewhere near the Mission of San Josè, as it was there that Father Duran resided. Who is there that does not sympathise with Jedediah Smith? "I am a long ways from home, and am anxious to get there as "soon as the nature of the case will admit. Our situation is quite "unpleasant, being destitute of clothing and most of the necessaries "of life, wild meat being our principal subsistance. I am, Rever-"end Father, your strange, but real friend and christian brother." Thus we came to this country the Browns and the Smiths first, and in but an unhappy plight.

As Jedediah Smith's letter shows he had been here before. At that time he had been required to give an account of him self, but had been able to find vouchers, ship-masters all them doubtless from Boston who had come to buy the hides which under the new system were now within the reach of commerce.

We, the undersigned, having been requested by Captain Jedediah S. Smith to state our opinions regarding his entering the Province of California, do not hesitate to say, that we have no doubt in our minds but that he was compelled to for want of provisions and water, having entered so far into the barren country that lies between the latitudes of forty-two and forty-three west, that he found it impossible to return by the route he came, as his horses had most of them perished for want of food and water; he was, therefore, under the necessity of pushing forward to California, it being the nearest place where he could procure supplies to enable him to return.

We further state as our opinions, that the account given by him is circumstantially correct, and that his sole object was the hunting and

trapping of beaver and other furs.

We have also examined the passports produced by him from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Government of the United States of America, and do not hesitate to say we believe them to be perfectly correct.

We also state, that in our opinion, his motive for wishing to pass by a different route to the head of the Columbia River on his return, is solely because he feels convinced that he and his companions run great risk of perishing if they return by the route they came.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this

20th day of December, 1826.

WM. G. DANA, Capt of schooner Waverly, [L.S.] [r.s.] WM. H. CUNNINGHAM, Capt. of ship Courier. WM. HENDERSON, Capt. of brig Olive Branch. [L.s.] JAMES SCOTT. [L.s.] THOS. M. ROBBINS, Mate of schooner Waverly. THOS. SHAW, Supercargo of ship Courier.

In extenuation however it may be said that Anglo Americans had long been viewed with uneasiness in this quarter. prophesied, as early as 1805, that they would become troublesome to California. So wrote a Governor in an official letter now in the Archives.

In a recent number of a magazine (Harper's for June 1860) Sylvester Pattie, his son and six others, are said to have been the first who accomplished the journey overland from the United States to California. The dates mentioned in that account show that they could not have reached Lower California. where they first arrived, sooner than 1829 or 1830, as it is said they left the Missouri river in 1824 and remained more than five years in New Mexico. The Patties therefore cannot dispute this honor with Jedediah Smith.

After the adoption of the Federal Constitution of 1824, by which was established THE MEXICAN UNITED STATES, the Governor of California was called the Political Chief of the Territory, and was aided by a council known as the Territorial Deputation. The Government of the Territory continued subject to the Sovereign Congress at the city of Mexico, as formerly that of the Province had been to the Viceroy. Thus much will be a sufficient introduction for the next paper.

to be regretted that it was not known to the gentlemen who designed the coat of arms adopted for this State.

"In session of the 13th of July, 1827, of the Territorial dep"utation, a propositon was made to change the name of the
"Territory to Moctesuma, the arms of the same to be an Indian
"with his bow and quiver, in the act of crossing a strait,
"placed in an oval, with an olive and live oak on either side;
"the same being symbolical of the arrival of the first inhabi"tant to America, which, according to the generally received
"opinion, was by way of the Straits of Anian."

The conception is poetical and simple, and differs in this particular widely from the confused medley of incongruous figures with which we have chosen to illustrate our idea of California. The name Moctesuma is very significant. It shows how the Mexican, since his independence, has preferred to draw his opinions, as he derives his blood, from the conquered rather than the conquerors. A late but signal triumph of race! California was near losing the name given her by heroes who came across the Atlantic for one suggestive of a descent from an imaginary people who came across Behring's Straits.

The Russians and the American trappers, estrays dropping in from the mountains, seemed to have taught the Californians the value of furs. The Government of the Territory very naturally made this new business a source of revenue. They sold licenses to trap. To obtain this privilege was rather a formal matter. Here is an example:

Juan B. R. Cooper petitions the Governor for a license to trap with ten boats, for seven months, for otters. The Governor refers the petition to the Alcalde, to know whether Mr. Cooper is matriculated in the marine, i. e., a seaman. The Alcalde reports that he belongs to the first class of seamen, and the Governor orders a license to be issued to Mr. Cooper to hunt otters from the parallel of San Luis Obispo to Bodega, two-thirds of the crews of his boats to be natives of the country. There are many others who get licenses, whose names are familiar to the oldest of the living pioneers. Edward McIntosh got his on January 9th, 1834, William Wolfskill his

September 21st, 1833; and many of the old Californians embarked in the same business, as Angel Castro, March 25th, 1833, and Juan Bandini on the 9th of April, 1833.

Internal disturbances seem to have commenced in California The liberal Spanish Cortez of 1813, in about the year 1830. carrying out the Constitution which they adopted for the Spanish monarchy the year before, decreed the secularization of all the Missions in the Spanish dominions. The design was to make general what had always been done before by special authority—to liberate the Indians from the control of the Missionary Fathers, and divide amongst them, as their separate property, the land, cattle, and whatever else they had owned in common; to establish secular priests in the place of regular priests or monks of the religious orders among them, for their spiritual guidance, and in every respect to convert the Indian villages of the missions into Spanish pueblos-the process by which, in so great a degree, society was constructed in all Spanish American countries, and the ultimate fulfilment of the purpose of the King, everywhere so prominently put forth in colonizing California.

The decrees of the Cortez, not incompatible with the republican form of government, continued after the establishment of her independence to be the laws of Mexico, but very few, if any, of them had been put into operation in California. With the rest, that of SECULARIZATION remained a dead letter. dia, the Political Chief, (as the Governor was then entitled,) in 1830, very hurriedly, and without consulting the Supreme Government, published, as the custom of the Government was, a set of Regulations for carrying this old law into effect. that moment he was superceded by Victoria, who suppressed the Regulations, and put a peremptory stop to the secularization of the Missions. Victoria's conduct was approved by the Supreme Government, but there was a party here warmly in favor of the secularization, and disturbances which were considered serious and threatening ensued, although I do not know that they resulted in bloodshed. The chief promoter of the scheme was sent out of the country by Victoria; and thus.

I think, civil strife commenced in California. The occasion was the disposition to be made of the Missions, which we have seen, were once, and for so long a time, so nearly all of California. It was the beginning of the downfall of those ancient establisments, so difficult for us to comprehend, and now so entirely passed away, that to recall them is like recalling the images of a dream. What the Government of Mexico was opposed to was not the secularization of the Missions, but the manner in which it was attempted. The agitation which had been thus commenced resulted in the passage, by the Mexican Congress, of the law of the 17th of August, 1833, to secularize the Missions of the Californias. Under it the work was begun by Figueroa, the best and ablest of the Mexican Governors. At the same time he had two other laws, most fundamentally subversive of the old order of things, to carry into execution. They were the law for the political organization of the Territory, being another of those decreed by the Spanish Cortes in 1813, and the law of colonization, passed by the Mexican Congress August 18th, 1824, with the Executive regulations. prescribing the manner of its application, dated Nov. 21, 1828. It is evident that this is the true era of revolution in Mexican California. Observing the ancient limits of the Presidial jurisdictions, municipal governments were established for each Authority was exercised by elective bodies called Avuntamientos, of which the head was an Alcalde or Judge. This body regulated the economy of the whole district, directly of the pueblo in which it resided, and of every other pueblo in the district, through the intervention of local and subordinate Ayuntamientos. This was the separation of the civil functions from the military functions, both of which had been continued in the hands of the commanders of the Presidios, as in the Spanish times. Here in San Francisco, and for all the region north of San Mateo creek, east indefinitely, and west to the ocean, the separation of powers took place in December, 1834. at which time the Ayuntamiento was established for the civil government of this Presidial district, and Gen. M. G. Vallejo, then in command of the Presidio, was left with only his military command. In the secularization of the Missions, Figueroa

advanced so far as to put administrators in possession in place of the Fathers, at which stage his proceedings were arrested by a decree of the Mexican President. Ruin was inevitable; it was as rapid as spoliation could make it, and it was soon complete. Governor after Governor adopted regulations upon regulations, to secure a faithful administration of the property of the Missions, i. e., of the Christian Indians, who inhabited them, and by whose labor all had been built and accumulated. It was to no purpose; and of as little avail was the partial restoration of the Missions, to the charge of the Fathers, by Micheltorena in 1843. The Indian was by nature a very little above the brute; the Fathers were not able to elevate him in spite of nature; the administrators stripped him without compunction; and, when the United States conquered the country, he was already exterminated, his destruction complete in ten years. When emancipation began, Figueroa says there were twenty thousand Christian Indians in the Missions of California.

Colonization was another idea introduced by the Spanish Cortes in 1813. It was embodied in the Mexican Law of Colonization, of 1824. The scheme was to reduce all the public lands of the State to private property. The Spanish rule before 1813, had ever been to make such grants the exception, and to retain all lands generally speaking, as the domain of the King. Other Mexican Governors may have made informal grants of which nothing appears, but Figueroa was the first to inangurate the system of which we find the records in the Ar-He established a course of proceeding in exact accordance with the law and the regulations, and adhered to it strictly and executed it conscientiously and with great intelligence. From the lands subject to be granted are excepted such as belong to Pueblos and Missions. Of Pueblos, i. e. villages, there were but two, San Josè and Los Angeles, or three including the unprosperous Villa de Branciforte. Whatever lands these owned were at their foundation, surveyed, marked out, and set apart to them; and then recorded. The same course was followed with such of the Presidios as were converted into Pueblos, as at Monterey, and would have been pursued with

the Missions when converted into Pueblos, if that change had not been arrested. In these cases there could have been no uncertainty as to what lands the Governor could grant. With the Missions, untouched, or incompletely secularized as they were left, there was difficulty. The title of the Indian who had consented to become a christian and a civilized man, binding as it was upon the King had always been indefinite as to quantity, and as to the situation of his lands, save that it should be at and about the Mission; in which essential particulars it rested altogether in the King's discretion, exercised by the proper officers of his government. The Mexican Republic stepped into the same relation to these christian Indians. That no injustice might be done them, every petition was referred to the Priests, and afterwards to the Administrators of the Missions. They were asked whether the grant could be made without prejudice to the Indians. As they replied so were the grants given or withheld. So it was at least in Figueroa's day, and that, no matter how far the land petitioned for was from the nearest Mission. Other Governors were neither so exact nor so concientious as Figaroa. And as in the hands of the Administrators to whom they were delivered over, the Missions went rapidly down to complete ruin, it is evident that the lands required for the Indians would become continually less -- such would be, and was, the answer of their new guardians to the inquiries of the Governor-and finally all was granted, and in some cases, it is alleged, even the Missions Their cattle without the aid of a grant from the Governor took the same course. It is not too much to say that when the United States in 1846 took possession of the country they found it passing through a conquest still raw and incomplete. It was the conquest of the Missions and the christian Indians, by the settlers of the Presidios and Pueblos who at first had been introduced into the country mainly for their benefit: to aid the King and the Church in carrying out their pious and humane intentions towards them. Yet it was well that it was so. Who that looks upon the native Digger Indian could wish that a superior race should be sacrificed or postponed for his benefit? We contemplate a miserable result

of the work begun with so much zeal and heroism in 1769. But because they failed, we none the less respect the motives and the laborers, whether of Church or State,

The unworthiness of the Californian Indian did not altogether deprive him of sympathy. Every Government expressed some feeling at seeing him hasten so rapidly to his wretched end. And the just and kind-hearted Figueroa battled for him manfully. In the midst of the complex labors of his administration he was almost crushed by the arrival of three hundred persons, for whom he had to make provision, without resources, and who came under the charge of a Director of Colonization, instructed by the Supreme Government, at that time radically democratic, to begin operations by taking possession of the property of the Missions and admit the new colonists to a division of it with the Indians. During the winter of 1834-5 Figueroa and the Director carried on an animated discussion in writing, on the subject of the last of these propo-Figueroa maintained that the Missions were the private property of the Indians, and protected from invasion, by the Constitution. The Director insisted upon the letter of the order of the Supreme Government. Figueroa said it was improvident, and refused to obey it until he could make a representation to the Supreme Government on the subject. end was that some of the partizans of the Director attempted an insurrection at Los Angeles, in the spring of 1835, which was easily suppressed, but furnished Figueroa the opportunity to send the Director and the heads of his faction back to Mex-Of these, the principal was the same man who had been nt out of California by Victoria, for the same cause, a desire to have a part in the secularization of the Missions. ony, however, remained, and though mumbering but three hundred, was a great addition to the population of California in those days. Among them we find the names of several persons who afterwards became conspicuous in the country, amongst them José Abrego, José Ma. Covarrubias, Augustin Olvera, and Francisco Guerrero.

Figueroa died at Monterey, on the 29th of September, 1835, his death being probably hastened by the effect of the anxiety

and vexation of this controversy, upon a constitution already broken. At that time his manifesto to the Mexican Republic, in which he gives a clear and forcible statement of the whole affair, and an able vindication of his conduct, was going through the press at Monterey. His death seems to have been very greatly deplored at that time, and he is still recognized as the ablest and most upright of the Mexican Governors. His work of the political organization of California lasted but a little while; it fell with the overthrow of the Federal Constitution of 1824, by Santa Anna, in 1836. California then became a Department; Political Chief was changed into Governor, and Territorial Deputation into Departmental Assembly.

These changes, however, were not fully completed in California until 1839. The Department of the Californias was then divided into three districts; the first extending from the frontier of Sonoma to San Luis Obispo, its principal point or seat of administration being the old Mission of San Juan, on the Pajaro river; the second district included the rest of Upper California, the seat of its administration being the city of Los Angeles, which had been promoted to that rank from the original condition of a Pueblo, in the year 1835; and the third comprised Lower California, which, after a separation, was now re-united with Upper California. These districts were divided each into two Partidos, of which, consequently, there were four in Upper California. Ayuntaimentos were abolished and a Justice of the Peace substituted in each Partido. For the whole district there was a Prefect, who resided at the seat of the administration of one of the Partidos, and a Sub-Prefect, who resided at that or the other Partido. In 1843 Michaeltorena, acting under extraordinary powers, made some changes in this system, but it was substantially restored by Pio Pico, in 1845, but when again Lower California was thrown off.

With Figueroa everything like stablity, and indeed order, passed away. The next year after Figueroa's death, the Californian's drove away the Governor, and Don Juan B. Alvarado being at that time President of the Territorial Deputation

was declared Governor. After this was done the Deputation went one step further and on the 7th of November 1836 passed these resolutions.

- (1.) "California is declared independent of Mexico until the "re-establishment of the Constitution of 1824."
- (2.) "California is erected into a free and sovereign State, "establishing a Congress, &c., &c."

Public documents for a while were headed "Free and Sovereign State of California." This anomalous state of things lasted until 1838. The demands of the Free and Sovereign State were not complied with, nor on the other hand was the Central Government disposed or perhaps able, to push the controversy to extremes. In 1838 Alvarado was appointed Governor ad interim; and Constitutional Governor in 1839, when we have seen that the innovations of Santa Aña took effect. Whilst California was in rebellion the President of Mexico commissioned Carlos Antonio Carillo, as Governor. Alvarado refused to recognize him, and accepted the aid of a party of Americans who since the time of Jedediah Smith, seem to have found their way into the country. Alvarado prevailed over Carillo; and his appointment as Governor ad interim, compromised the difficulties of those times. Here is a document relating to this contest, which will serve to illustrate California warfare. It is the report of General Josè Castro to Governor Alvarado, dated the 28th of March 1838.

"I have the honor to announce to your Exceellency, that after two days continual firing without having lost but one man, the enemy took to flight, under cover of night, numbering one hundred and ten men; and I have determined to dispatch one company of mounted Infantry, under the command of Captain Villa, and another of Cavalry lancers, under the command of Captain Cota, in their pursuit, remaining myself, with the rest of the division, and the Artillery, to guard this point, &c., &c."

And here is another of the same period. It now appears that the Americans who sided with Alvarado had fallen under suspicion and into disfavor at about the time that their chief made up his differences with the Central Government and received his commission as Governor ad interim. They were all arrested, some fifteen or twenty perhaps, it is said by surprise, and sent to Mexico. Amongst them was Mr. Isaac Graham, of Santa Cruz. This paper will also serve as a specimen of Californian eloquence at that period, and I commend it at the present moment as a model to our political orators.

PROCLAMATION MADE BY THE UNDERSIGNED:-

"Eternal Glory to the Illustrious Champion and Liberator of the Department of Alta California, Don José Castro, the Guardian of Order, and the Supporter of our Superior Government.

Fellow-citizens and Friends: To-day, the eighth of May, of the present year of 1840, has been and will be eternally glorious to all the inhabitants of this soil, in contemplating the glorious expedition of our fellow countryman, Don José Castro, who goes to present himself before the Superior Government of the Mexican nation, carrying with him a number of suspicious Americans who, under the mask of deceit, and filled with ambition, were warping us in the web of misfortune; plunging us into the greatest confusion and danger; desiring to terminate the life of our Governor and of all of his subalterns; and finally, to drive us from our asylums; from our country; from our pleasures, and from our hearths.

The bark which carries this valorous Hero on his Grand Commission goes filled with laurels and crowned with triumphs, ploughing the waves and publishing in distinct voices to the passing billows the loud vivas and rejoicings, which will resound to the remotest bounds of the universe. Yes, fellow-citizens and friends, again we say, that this glorious chief should have a place in the innermost recesses of our hearts, and be held as dear to us as our very breath. Thus we desire, and in the name of all the inhabitants, make known the great rejoicings with which we are filled, giving, at the same time, to our Superior Government the present proclama, which we make for said worthy chief; and that our Governor may remain satisfied, that if he (Castro) has embarked for the interior of the Republic, there still remain under his (the Governor's) orders all his fellow countrymen, companions in arms, etc., etc."

The foregoing is signed by seven citizens of note and respectability in the country. When this laurel laden vessel reached San Blas, the Mexican authorities took a different view of the matter. They put Gen. Castro in prison and Graham and his companions in the best hotel in the place, (he says a palace) and entertained them handsomely until they could send them back to California, which they did at the expense of the Government.

In 1839, Captain John A. Sutter, a man who had seen many vicissitudes and adventures, in Europe and the wilds of America, arrived in California from the Sandwich Islands. By permission of Gove:nor Alvarado he established himself in the valley of the Sacramento, then the extreme northern frontier. He engaged to protect the Mexican settlements extending in that direction under the Colonization Law, (the only vital thing left of the Mexican rule for many years) from the incursions of the Indians, and he kept his word.

In 1841, he obtained a grant of land himself, and built a fort which soon became the refuge and rallying point for Americans and Europeans coming into the country. Over all these Sutter, by virture of an appointment as Justice of the Peace, exercised whatever government there was beyond the law of the rifle. Practically his powers were as indefinite as the territorial limits of his jurisdiction. Amongst those who early gathered around Sutter, we find the names of John Bidwell, who came in 1841, and Pearson B. Reading and Samuel J. Hensley, who came in 1843, and many others well known at the present day.

The Pioneers of that day all bear testimony to the generosity of Captain Sutter, at a time when his fort was the capital and he the Government for the American colony in the valley of the Sacramento. In 1844, the numbers of this population had come to be so considerable as to be a power in the State. In the revolution which then occurred, Sutter took the side of Governor Micheltorena. But before he marched he took the reasonable precaution, so obviously required by justice to his men, to obtain from Micheltorena a grant of the land for which they had respectfully petitioned. Micheltorena then issued the document known as the General Title.

In this document he declares that every petition upon which Sutter, in his capacity of Justice of the Peace, had reported favorably, should be taken as granted; and that a copy of this document given to each petitioner, should serve in lieu of the usual formal grant. This done, he marched to the south, but was unfortunate, for he was taken prisoner, and *Micheltorena* expelled from the country. This is the last of the civil wars of California.

In the spring of 1846, General Castro in the North, and Pio Pico, the Governor, in the South, were waxing hot against each other, and preparing for new conflicts, when the apparition of Captain Fremont with his small surveying party of old mountaineers, and the hardy and indomitable Pioneers of the Sacramento Valley, and the Bear flag, put an end to their dissensions. himself prepared the way for this aggression, by driving Fremon and his surveying party out of the Mexican settlements, a few months before. The colony on the Sacramento necessarily sympathized with Fremont; and rumors, more or less well founded, began to run through the valley, of hostile intentions towards all the American settlers. But resentment, and anticipations of evil, were not the sole cause of this movement. There can not now be a doubt that it was prompted, as it was approved, by the Government of the United States; and that Captain Fremont obeyed his orders no less than his own feelings.

Fremont was still on the northern side of the Bay of San Francisco when the American flag was hoisted at Monterey, on the ever-memorable seventh day of July, 1846.

Before the war, the Government of the United States had fully determined, so far as that matter rested with the Executive, upon the conquest and permanent retention of California, as soon as the out-break of war should offer the opportunity. Orders, in anticipation of war, were issued to that effect, and it was under these orders that California was actually taken. The danger of that day was, that England would step in before us. Her ships were watching our ships on the coast of Mexico. The British pretext, it is said, was to have been to secure an equivalent for the Mexican debt due to British subjects; and it is understood that there was a party here who favored this design.

Because Commodore Sloat did not rush to the execution of the orders issued in anticipation of war, on the very first report of a collision between the United States and Mexico, the anxious Secre-

tary of the Navy, dreading to lose the prize, hotly censured him in a letter which reached him after the event had broken the sting of its reproaches, and served only to assure him how well he had fulfilled the wishes of his government. The flag of the United States was no sooner flying, than the Collingwood entered the bay of Monterey. There had been a race between the Collingwood and the Savannah. What a moment was that for us, and for the world! What if the Collingwood had been the swifter sailer, and Sloat had found the English flag flying on the shore! What if we had been born on another planet! The cast was for England or the United States, and when the die turned for us, the interest was at an end.

As a feat of arms, the conquest of California was nothing for a power like ours. Even more feeble, and as much distracted as the rest of Mexico, and with but a nominal dependence upon the Central Government, but a very little force was sufficient to detach California forever from all her Spanish-American connections. Whatever of military credit there was, is due to the Pioneers who, under the Bear flag, had, before they heard of the beginning of the war, with an admirable instinct for their own rights, and the interests of their country, rebelled against any further Mexican misrule, or a sale to the British. The loyalty of their sentiments was beautifully illustrated by the alacrity with which they relinquished the complete independence which appeared to be within their grasp, and turned over their conquests, and the further service of their rifles, to the country which they remembered with so much affection, and a government from which they would suffer themselves to look for nothing but wisdom and strength, and a tender consideration for the rights and interests of the Pioneer.

For three years and a half, when there was no war, and for nearly two years after there was a declared peace, California was governed, and for a great part of the time heavily taxed, by the executive branch of the government of the United States, acting through military officers. This I note as an anomaly in the experience of the citizens of this Republic.

California, separated from Mexico, a new people began to come in, from the United States and Europe. But California was

remote, and yet but little understood. Mr. Webster himself spoke of her as almost worthless, except for the Bay of San Francisco, and as though the soil was as barren and thorny as the rocks of Lower California. Emigrants came, but not many—amongst the most remarkable arrivals being the ship Brooklyn, freighted with Mormons. The soldiers themselves were nothing more than armed colonists. And everything was peaceful and dull, until suddenly, when no man expected, there came a change of transcendant magnitude.

Gold was discovered at Coloma. This was an event that stirred the heart of the whole world. The motives which pervade and most control the lives of men were touched. All the impulses that spring from Necessity and Hope were quickened; and a movement was visible amongst mankind. To get to California, some crossed over from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso, scaling the Andes. Isthmus of Darien became a common thoroughfare. invaders entered Mexico at every point, and on every route startled the drowsy muleteer as they passed over to the Pacific where the coast was nearest, or pushed on directly for California. Constant caravans issued from our own borders, traversed every intervening prairie, and explored every pass and gap of opposing mountains. As the long train descended to the valley, perhaps the foremost wagon is driven by an old man, who when he was a boy moved out in this way from Virginia to Kentucky; and passing still from one new State to another, now when he is grown gray halts his team at last upon the shores of the Pacific. Ships sailed from every port on the globe. The man at the wheel, in every sea, steered by the star that led to San Francisco. So came the emigrants of 1849.

The occupation of California was now complete, and she became a part of the world.

The sighs, the prayers, the toiling and the watching of our oerwearied countrymen on these long painful journeys are still demanding a railroad to the Pacific.

Eleven years are passed, and have they no voice? We looked out upon a wide expanse—unfenced, untilled—and though nature was lovely, our hearts sunk within us. Neither the priest nor the ranchero had prepared this country for our habitation. We asked who shall subdue all this to our uses? We look again; and now, upon a landscape chequered with smiling farms and dotted with cities and towns, busy and humming like the hive. What magic is it that has wrought this change? On every hand, with one acclaim, comes back the answer. Labor, it is Labor. Of our eleven years, here is the lesson. Man's opinions and his passions were but insolence and vanity. Boasting and praise made but the greatness of the passing day. And Labor, only Labor, has survived. However silent, however humble and unseen, or on what bestowed, it is Labor which has created California, and which rules us at this hour. With our own eyes this we have seen, and of our knowledge we know the lesson to be as true as it is old.

California in full possession of the white man, and embraced within the mighty area of his civilization! We feel the sympathies of our race attract us. We see in our great movement hitherward in 1849 a likeness to the times when our ancestors, their wives and little ones, and all their stuff in wagons, and with attendant herds, poured forth by nations and in never-ending columns from the German forests, and went to seek new pastures and to found new kingdoms in the ruined provinces of the Roman Empire: or when swayed by another inspiration they cast their masses upon the Saracens, and sought to rescue the Sepulchre of Christ from the infidels. We recognize that we are but the foremost rank of that

multitude which for centuries has held its unwavering course out of Europe upon America, in numbers still increasing; a vast unsummoned host, self-marshaled, leaderless, and innumerable, moving and onward forever, to possess and people another continent. Separated but in space, divided but by the accidents of manners, of language and of laws—from Scandinavia to California—one blood and one people. Knowledge is but the conservation of his thoughts, art but the embodiment of his conceptions, letters the record of his deeds. Man of our race has crowned the earth with its glory! And still in the series of his works you have founded a State. May it be great and powerful whilst the Ocean shall thunder against these shores. You have planted a people; may they be prosperous and happy whilst summers shall return to bless these fields with plenty. And may the name of the Pioneer be spoken in California forever.

Since the foregoing address was delivered, the following letter has been received by Mr. Randolph from Mr. Sprague. a gentleman well known in this city, and interesting as showing the discovery of gold in California THIRTY-FIVE years ago:

Edmund Randolph, Esq., San Francisco:

GENOA, Carson Valley, Sept. 18, 1860.

FRIEND RANDOLPH:—I have just been reading your address before the Society of Pioneers. I have known of the J. S. Smith you mention, by reputation, for many years. He was the first white man that ever went Overland from the Atlantic States to California. He was a Chief Trader in the employ of the American Fur Company. At the rendezvous of the Company on Green River, near the South Pass, in 1825, Smith was directed to take charge of a party of some 40 men, (trappers) and penetrate the country west of Salt Lake. He discovered what is now called Humboldt River. He called it Mary's River, from his Indian wife Mary. It has always been known as Mary's River by mountain men since—a name which it should retain, for many reasons.

Smith pushed on down Mary's River, and being of an adventurous nature, when he found his road closed by high mountains, determined to see what kind of country there was on the other side. It is not known exactly where he crossed the Sierra Nevada, but it is supposed that it must have been not far from where the old emigrant road crossed near the head of the Truckee. He made his way southerly after entering the Valley of Sacramento, passed through San Jose and down as low as San Diego. After recruiting his party and purchasing a large number of horses, he crossed the mountains near what is known as Walker's Pass, skirted the eastern slope of the mountains till near what is now known as Mono Lake, when he steered an east-by-north course for Salt Lake. On this portion of his route he found placer gold in quantities, and brought much of it with him to the encampment on Green River.

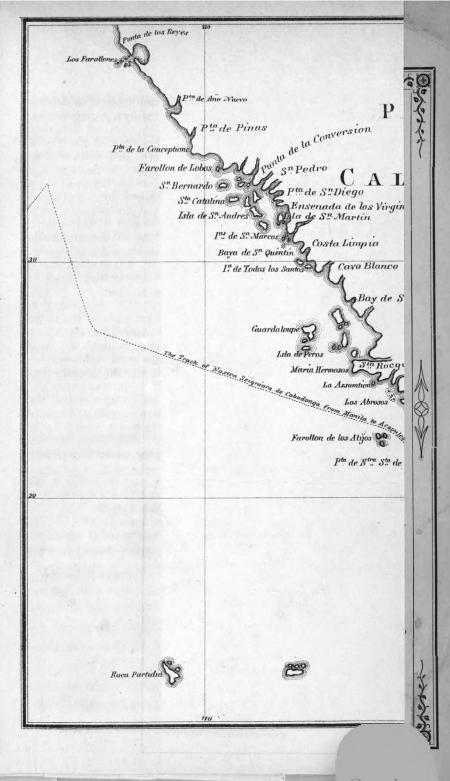
The gold that he brought with him, together with his description of the country he had passed through, and the large amount of furs, pleased the agent of the American Fur Company so well, that he directed Smith again to make the same trip, with special instructions to take the gold fields on his return and thoroughly prospect them. It was on this trip that he wrote the letter to Father Duran. The trip was successful until they arrived in the vicinity of the gold mines, east of the mountains, when in a battle with the Indians, Smith and nearly all of his men were killed. A few of the party escaped and reached the encampment on Green River. This defeat damped the ardor of the company so much that they never looked any

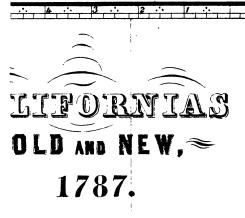
more for the gold mines.

There are one or more men now living who can testify to the truth of the above statement, and who can give a fuller statement of the detail of his two journeys than I can.

The man Smith was a man of far more than average ability and had a better education than falls to the lot of mountain men. Few or none of them were his equals in any respect.

THOMAS SPRAGUE.







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